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# PIONEER

The Mormons and  
The Native Americans

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# PIONEER

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The National Society of Sons of Utah Pioneers honors early and modern-day pioneers, both young and older, for their faith in God, devotion to family, loyalty to church and country, hard work, service to others, courage in adversity, personal integrity, and unyielding determination. Pioneer Magazine supports the mission of the Society.

**COVER ART**

Indian Night Raid, by Minerva K. Teichert, courtesy Brigham Young University Museum of Art.  
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# President's Message

By J. Todd Olsen

This year the opportunities that have been made available to me fill me with both humility and a desire to serve to the best of my abilities. One of the reasons I joined this organization was that my father had been a member. Another reason is the values this organization holds so dear. They are the same values my family and I believe are important to maintain strong families and communities. This edition of the magazine will be highlighting the Indians in this area. I thought I would relate a couple of stories I grew up with—one from my family history, the other from the local history of the Logan Temple. I hope that you enjoy reading them as much as I enjoy telling them.

In 1860 the settlement of Smithfield in northern Utah decided to have a celebration for the 24th of July. It was decided to build a bowery for the festivities. Two of my great uncles, Ira and Solymon, were sent into the canyon to cut logs and boughs to provide material for the construction of the bowery.

Back in town it was reported that an Indian had stolen a horse in Richmond, just north of Smithfield. As a result the chief was taken into custody. When he didn't return to camp, five braves were sent to find out what had happened to him. One of the braves went to talk to the chief and urged him to escape. As they made their escape one of the guards fired, killing the chief. The rest of the braves hightailed it into the mountains. Along the way they killed one settler and wounded another before they ran upon Ira and Solymon

returning with a load of timber from the canyon. The Indians opened fire, killing Ira and wounding Solymon. They tried to scalp them, but Solymon held them off by throwing rocks at them until the settlers arrived and drove them away. Ira became the first person to be buried in the Smithfield cemetery. This is the type of story that most of us are familiar with, but let me tell you about another type of Indian that lived in Utah.

In 1877, construction of the temple in Logan had begun. The Indians in the area had for the most part been converted to the gospel and enjoyed working on the temple whenever they could. There were always twelve to twenty Indians who helped with the construction. They would come over from the reservation in Washakee on Monday morning to spend the week working on the temple and then return to the reservation on the following Saturday evening.

One Indian who helped work on the temple was Huni Bebetsi, who was known as a spiritual man. Whenever he was setting a rock and it wouldn't set just right he would drop to his knees and offer a prayer and then the rock would set in place just right. One day as the men were called to lunch the old Indian told them that he didn't feel well and would stay and work for a while. When the men returned from lunch he was nowhere to be seen. They assumed that he had returned to camp. When they returned to camp he was nowhere to be found. They formed a posse and searched for him, but no trace was ever found. The rumor

started that he was such a righteous man that he had been translated

and taken directly to heaven. This is the type of story that we seldom hear.

This year will be the bicentennial of the birth of the Prophet Joseph Smith, and to commemorate that event we have scheduled our national encampment to coincide with that celebration in Philadelphia. I hope to see each of you there. Thank you for the opportunity to serve.

## Attention Chapter Presidents and Presidents Elect:

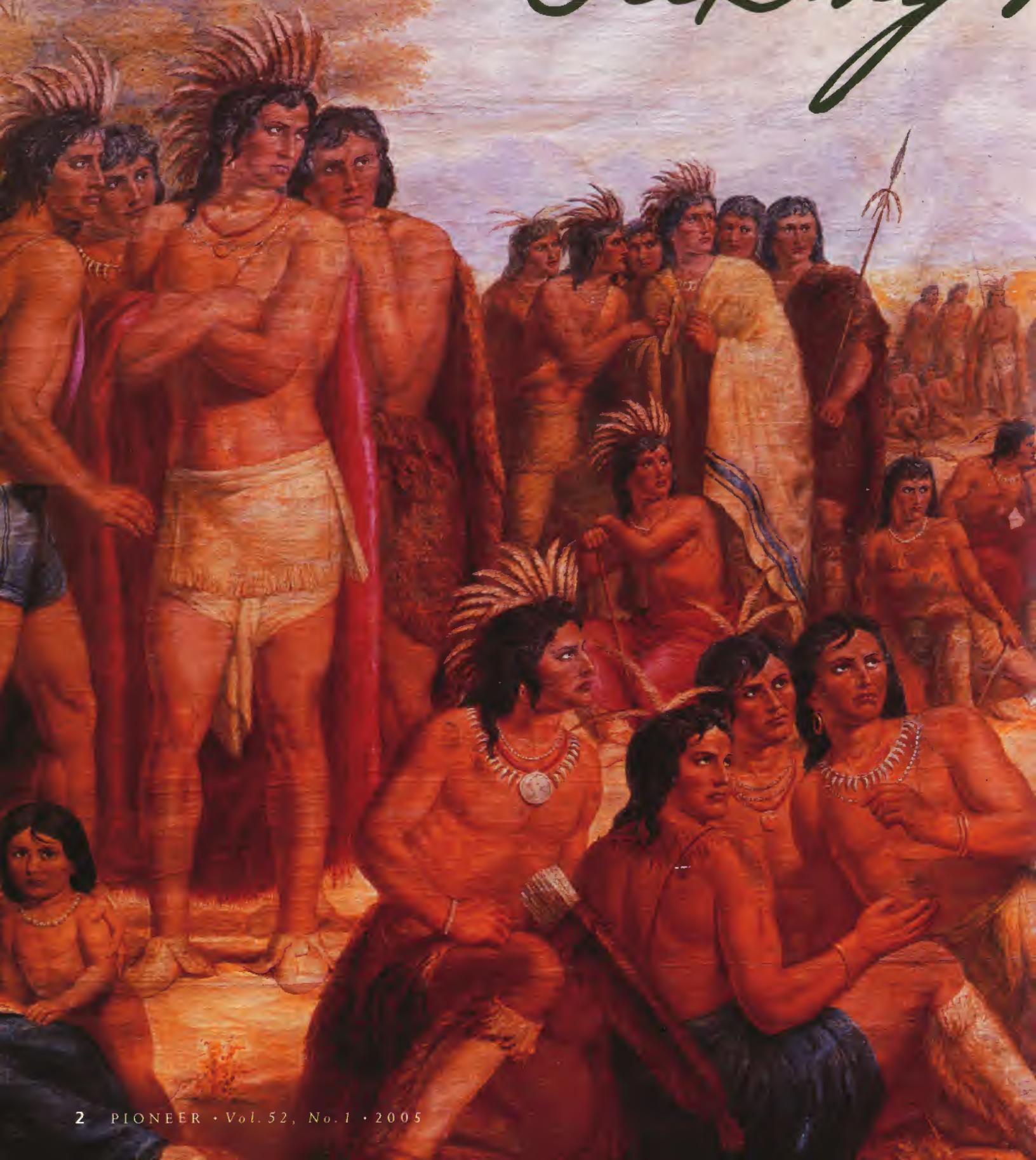
On April 16, 2005, at 4:00 p.m. there will be a meeting held at National Headquarters building. The purpose of this meeting will be to discuss any concerns or questions regarding this organization. The Executive Council, Committee Directors, Area Vice Presidents, and Past Presidents Council will also be in attendance. If you are unable to attend, please send a delegate from your local board to represent you. For those chapters too far away to attend, a set of minutes will be sent to you.

Please send in advance your concerns, either to myself or national headquarters. These concerns will be drafted into a workable agenda to address at the meeting. I will need to know in advance how many are planning to attend to set up seating. You can e-mail me at

[jtoddolsen@comcast.net](mailto:jtoddolsen@comcast.net) 



# Seeking



# *the "Remnant"*

## **The Native American *During the* Joseph Smith Period**

O stop and tell me, Red Man,  
Who are ye? why you roam?  
And how you get your living?  
Have you no Gods; —no home?

—W. W. Phelps<sup>1</sup>

by Ronald W. Walker

Recent scholars have largely set aside the Native American as an important force in early Restoration history, 1830–44. After telling the familiar story of Oliver Cowdery's 1830–31 Lamanite mission, most writers either grow quiet on the topic or say that Joseph Smith and other Mormon leaders became pre-occupied with more pressing things. But the evidence supports another view. First-generation leaders, while not always having the freedom to interact with the Indian as they wished, consistently sought the Native American "remnant" of Jacob.

There is no mistaking the importance of the Indian during the earliest part of Joseph Smith's ministry. His first and greatest revelation was the Book of Mormon, which was not just a record of the "Lamanite" but a highly unusual manifesto of their destiny. Joseph Smith taught something so unique for its time as to be inflammatory. The Indians, descendants of the Old Testament prophet Israel, would in the last days once more be joined into the ancient Israelite covenant. Redeemed to the Christian fold and blossoming "like a rose,"<sup>2</sup> the Indian "remnant" would play a fearful role in the final end of things.



[Following the conference of September 26, 1830, Joseph Smith called the first group of Lamanite missionaries]—leading elders Oliver Cowdery, Parley P. Pratt, Peter Whitmer, Jr., and Ziba Peterson—to preach to the natives.<sup>3</sup>

After the purchase of Louisiana and especially the War of 1812, many Americans wanted the Native American cleared from all lands east of the Mississippi River and placed in a “Permanent Indian Frontier,” west and southwest of the Missouri state border. President James Monroe laid the matter before Congress in 1825; and in the decade following, the U.S. Government began the step-by-step relocation of many eastern bands to present-day Kansas and Oklahoma. The Indian Removal Bill, enacted in May 1830 six weeks after the establishment of Mormonism, sought to complete the process. Its provisions called for the Indians still living east of the “Father of Waters” to take up new homes in the new Indian territory.<sup>4</sup> [Government] persuasion and intimidation were placing large numbers of Indians just beyond the western Missouri border.

Preaching mainly to the Shawnees and the recently transplanted Delawares, [this first group of

missionaries] described a growing warmth to their message that Richard W. Cummins, the dour U.S. agent to the Shawnees and Delawares, ordered stopped. The Mormons were commanded to go “eastward into Missouri or westward to the Leavenworth guard house.”<sup>5</sup>

With the government still restraining Mormon activity in the Indian territory . . . enough was publicly said by Smith’s party to prick Missouri ears. “The Mormonites are about to take the country,” wrote one alarmed citizen. “They are preaching and baptizing, through the country, [and] are trying to proceed west to find the New Jerusalem which they say is towards the rocky mountains.”<sup>6</sup>

The Church’s periodical, *The Evening and the Morning Star*, printed numerous pieces about the Native Americans, provided the text of Smith’s several revelations regarding them, and rhapsodized how these pieces fit into the latter-day prophetic mosaic. “What beauty to see prophecies fulfilled so exactly,” wrote editor W. W. Phelps. In his eyes, the government’s Indian resettlement policy was a “marvelous,” now-at-hand reality of the old predictions that the Indians were to be gathered. Phelps believed federal agents were acting as “nursing fathers unto . . . [their Indian] children,” as Book of Mormon prophecy had foretold.<sup>7</sup>

During the late 1830s, a mixed branch of Sac, Fox, and Kickapoo Indians known as “Mormon Indians” lived north of Fort Leavenworth. Proselyted in Ohio or Indiana prior to their removal to the Indian territory, these Indians had contact with the Missouri Saints and were the inspiration for Phelps’s poem “O Stop and Tell Me, Red Man,” which was placed in the Church’s first collection of hymns.<sup>8</sup>

Understandably, none of this talk set well with the Missourians. Already uneasy over the several thousand potentially hostile natives on their frontier, . . . old-line Missourians saw Phelps’s articles—and the underlying Book of Mormon prophecies on which they were based—as provocative and menacing. Weren’t the Mormons anxious to ally themselves with these dangerous red men? The reaction of the Missourians was not without cause. These hardy settlers of the border fully understood themselves to be counted among the imperiled “gentiles” spoken of in the Mormon revelations.

Joseph Smith grasped that many of his followers in Missouri had been unwise. Such talk, Smith cautioned, endangered the lives of the Saints everywhere.<sup>9</sup> In a second letter, . . . nothing, he warned, would rouse Missouri fears more than wild talk about a Mormon–Indian alliance.<sup>10</sup>

During the 1833 Jackson County difficulty, reports spread that the Mormons were stirring sedition among the Indians.<sup>11</sup> According to Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary and long-time promoter of the Indian resettlement, the

Mormons were “strongly suspected” of seeking aid during their Jackson County struggles from the natives across the border.<sup>12</sup> As matters climaxed, the fears of local settlers greatly increased. Word went out that the Mormons and the Indians were “colleagued together” and were about to attack Independence.<sup>13</sup>

The local grievance committee [of Clay County] charged the newcomers “with keeping up a constant communication with the Indian tribes on our frontier, with declaring, even from the pulpit, that the Indians are a part of God’s chosen people, and are destined, by heaven, to inherit this land, in common with themselves.” With the nearby Indians restless, such sentiment . . . filled the citizens “with horror, if not alarm.”<sup>14</sup>

As the Missouri turmoil reached its crescendo in 1838, the charges against the Mormons became more precise. The Mormons had secretly placed twelve men among the western tribesmen, said one. Another claimed that Joseph Smith boasted of having fourteen thousand men—presumably Native American warriors—ready to answer his command.<sup>15</sup> These and other accusations usually had their direct or indirect origin in what the Missourians believed were the frightful implications of Book of Mormon prophecy.

The truth of these feverish and probably exaggerated rumors will never be fully known. At the very least, the Mormons likely had built quiet ties with the close-by natives, attempting to walk the thin line of being true to their scriptural tenets while at the same time trying to avoid offense to the nervous Missourians.

But evangelizing the Indian and inciting rebellion were two different things. The Saints strongly denied the latter, and [the] Saints were eager to prove the point.<sup>16</sup>

While the Saints were content to preach to the Indian and allow the providential hand to bring the cataclysm, the Missouri oldtimers failed to see the distinction. “It is generally thought that we shall have war with the

Mormons & Indians both,” one settler wrote during the final stages of the Missouri conflict. Another had the two parties joined as allies, believing that one or two tribes were about to enroll in Smith’s cause.<sup>17</sup> When Governor Lilburn W. Boggs called out the Missouri militia at the end of August 1838, he noted “Indian disturbances on our immediate frontier” as well as the alleged “civil disturbances” in Mormon Caldwell, Daviess, and Carroll counties.<sup>18</sup> If the two were not directly related, they stood side by side in the Missouri mind.

**T**he Book of Mormon is a record of the forefathers of our western tribes of Indians. The land of America is a promised land unto them.” —Joseph Smith

[Following his 1831 trip to Missouri, Joseph Smith] had the chance to meet Native Americans first hand. One of the most important of these encounters involved an Oneida Indian, who traveled several hundred miles to Illinois with his wife and daughter to visit the Mormons. The native styled himself as “an Interpreter of six tribes,” whom he confidently predicted would “receive the work.” He himself did, being “joyfully” baptized in May 1840. The unnamed Indian may have been Lewis Dana and his wife Mary

Gont. During the next decade, the two were at the heart of the Mormons’ Lamanite effort.<sup>19</sup>

Freed from the fetters of Missouri and perhaps quickened by the Indians’ conversion, Smith in 1840 began a series of Indian evangelizing efforts—usually confidentially, often omitting the details from official and even private records.<sup>20</sup> While some missionary work had already been done among the Indians still in the east, the attention now turned west. Among the first to go were John Lowe Butler and James Emmett, the latter having previously shown a zeal for the Lamanite while living in Missouri.<sup>21</sup> Venturing among the Sioux in probably southern Minnesota, Butler and Emmett reported only harrowing experiences: “They stole our horses and shot our cattle and came very near shooting us.” Hoping for a better result, Joseph Smith called for the two missionaries to renew their efforts.<sup>22</sup>



After receiving a blessing in mid-1837 promising him a “great work” with the Lamanites, Jonathan Dunham filled several eastern missions, including work with the Brotherton, Oneida, Stockbridge, and Tuscarora nations, and apparently several others as well.<sup>23</sup>

In May 1840 he returned to Nauvoo, where he recorded in his diary the conversion of an Oneida interpreter. “One Lamanite ordained and blessed by the Patriarch,” he wrote. Ten days later, on 13 May without any explanation written in his journal, he “fixed to go west.” He was heading for the Indian Territory in present-day Kansas. By the first week of June, he was within a few miles of Fort Leavenworth, when he turned southeast about six miles to the lodge of Thomas Hendricks, “Chief of the Stockbridges.” With Hendricks away, he preached to the nearby Kickapoos and visited the Delaware headman Timothy Towsa. But his chief interest lay with Hendricks, who continued to be absent. After spending less than a week in the area, Dunham found it necessary to “go away into the woods,” as word came that Indian agents wanted him out of the territory. But still he remained, secretly fed by the Stockbridge women.<sup>24</sup>

Nothing more is known about the details of Dunham’s mission, for his diary abruptly breaks off at this point. But the missionary, and apparently his superiors, were well pleased with the result. Returning to Nauvoo, he was promptly dispatched with three other elders for a short mission to the Allegheny, Buffalo, Cattaraugus, Onondaga, Oneida, Tonawanda, and Tuscarora people in the East.

Among the western Indians, there was a different response. After enduring the pain of being removed from their traditional lands, they must have welcomed the Mormons’ offers of friendship and their expressions of Indian destiny. Certainly Dunham was excited by the response he had received. Many Lamanites were “believing the Gospel,” he told colleagues, a calculation that may have included Hendricks himself.<sup>25</sup> During the next half dozen years, the chief would receive the repeated and solicitous attention of the Mormons.

[Several] Indian delegations . . . came to Nauvoo during the early 1840s. The Sauk and Fox were the first, led by the celebrated Keokuk. The Mormons regaled the one hundred chiefs, warriors, and family members, who ferried the Mississippi River in “full dress”; and Joseph Smith earnestly spoke to them about the history and promises of their people as contained in the Book of Mormon. Smith also added several exhortations to good behavior, with which the usually pliable Sauk chieftain promised to comply. Several years before he had secured a copy of the Book of Mormon, Keokuk said, and now he told Smith, “I believe you are a great and good man.”<sup>26</sup>

The Pottawatamies provided an even more interest-

ing visit in the spring of 1843. The Mormons had had contact with various branches of the tribe since the start of their movement, and many Missourians had linked the two groups as co-conspirators, perhaps because both were viewed as seditious. The Pottawatamie had long defied the American advance onto their lands and had allied themselves to the British during the War of 1812. When meeting with Smith, Chief Apaquauchawba and his companions poured out an unhappy vial of complaint. The white man, they said, had “distressed and oppressed” the Pottawatamies, driven them from their homes, and now their numbers were dwindling.

The Native Americans had come to do more than complain. They had been told that Smith spoke with the Great Spirit, and they wished his advice and aid. Would the Mormons join the recently formed mutual defense alliance of the ten confederated tribes of the Indian Territory? At least, would Smith send some of his “chiefs” to confer with them?

When the Pottawatamies had arrived in Nauvoo a day or two before, [Joseph Smith] advised the Indians to stay unified and peaceful and to pray to the Spirit. The future, he promised, would be kinder. Then raising the Book of Mormon in his hand, the Mormon leader gave the prescription for their redemption: “This tells what you will have to do.”<sup>27</sup>

The local Indian agent, Henry King, thought the Mormon protestations of peace were hollow. “It seems evi-



## *The Mission to the Western Border*

The first extended mission followed the conference of September 26, 1830, [where] Oliver Cowdery and Peter Whitmer were called to go and preach to the American Indians. In October Parley P. Pratt and Ziba Peterson were called to accompany them.

After visiting the Indian tribe of Catteraugus, near Buffalo, New York, with meager results, the missionaries pushed on to Kirtland, Ohio. Elder Pratt sought out his former pastor, Sidney Rigdon, a preacher in the Church of the Disciples (Campbellites) and was well received. Sidney Rigdon promised that he would read and study the Book of Mormon. When the missionaries departed from Kirtland to continue on to their original goal, they left a thriving branch with twenty members who would bring into the Church practically all of the so-called Disciples.

Walking westward, the five intrepid missionaries came to the Wyandot tribe of Indians near Sandusky, Ohio, where they spent several days. Parley P. Pratt writes: "We were well received, and had an opportunity of laying before them the record of their forefathers."

In January 1831, the little party left St. Louis for a journey of 306 miles on foot through a trackless waste [of deep snow and little wood for fires] to Independence, Missouri. Elder Pratt writes: "We carried on our backs our changes of clothing, several books, and corn bread and raw pork. We often ate our frozen bread and pork by the way,

when the bread would be so frozen that we could not bite or penetrate any part of it but the outside crust."

In February the group reached Independence, [where they] visited the powerful Shawnees and then crossed the Kansas River into the region of the Delawares. After considerable difficulties, Chief Anderson, head of the ten nations of Delawares, granted them an opportunity to speak to the united council of the ten nations. Forty chieftains met in the chief's council chambers. Elder Pratt [reported] of the experience: "We continued for several days to instruct the old chief and many of his tribe. We found several among them who could read, and to them we gave copies of the Book. The excitement now reached the frontier settlements in Missouri, and stirred up the jealousy and envy of the Indian agents to that degree that we were soon ordered out of the Indian country as disturbers of the peace, and even threatened with the military in case of noncompliance."

Without money or supplies, and depending upon the hospitality of the few red and white inhabitants, they had traversed sixteen hundred miles of wilderness and opened the way for thousands to hear the message of the restored gospel. □

Source: William E. Berrett, *The Latter-day Saints: A Contemporary History of The Church of Jesus Christ* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1985), 82–85.





dent," King wrote to the Iowa governor, "from all that I can learn from the leading men among the Mormons and from various other sources that a grand conspiracy is about to be entered into between the Mormons and Indians to destroy all white settlements on the frontier." King believed the attacks might begin within the next few months.<sup>28</sup>

[The] Mormons continued to work . . . on Indian conversion and coordination. Less than two weeks after the departure of the Pottawatamies from Nauvoo, the Mormon prophet again dispatched Jonathan Dunham on an "exploring excursion to the west," a phrase that was only half true. Increasingly, future events would show, these words were a code for Indian work.<sup>29</sup>

In July 1843, Dunham made his way into Iowa Territory, where . . . his primary mission lay with the Pottawatamies, who provided him with a prearranged guide to their villages just south of present-day Omaha, Nebraska. Unfortunately, . . . government authorities ordered him from the area.<sup>30</sup>

As Dunham traveled back to Nauvoo, the Pottawatamies were close behind. One hundred tribesmen reportedly moved east to the Des Moines River, out of which a smaller delegation was chosen to go to the Mormon capital, this time bringing their own interpreter.<sup>31</sup> They arrived in Nauvoo two days after Dunham's return, bringing several important questions. Federal authorities had been anxious to clear the tide to more land for American settlement. Should they sell, the Indians asked? The tribesmen also had a larger and potentially a more explosive question. Taking their earlier request for a Mormon alliance one step further, they wondered if Smith would be willing to become their "father" or protector?

Given the frontier fears of both the Mormons and the Pottawatamies, the last question was especially difficult; and Smith carefully replied in a formal letter, as though opponents were looking over his shoulder. To the first question, he suggested the Indians retain their lands "to live upon for yourselves and your children." The second required greater length. He was "happy to render . . . any assistance" in his power, he wrote, but his help must be consistent with the laws of the United States. "Should the United States appoint me as your [Indian] agent to transact your business for you I shall cheerfully comply; and will always do the best I can for you, but you know I cannot do any thing in this matter except it be appointed me by the authorities of our land."<sup>32</sup>

[During] a Nauvoo council meeting of the Mormon leaders in February 1844 [Joseph Smith] authorized the organization of a western "exploration" company. Moses Smith, a prospective member, recalled that the Mormon prophet intended for twenty-five scouts to go west of the Missouri River to explore the country and visit the Indian

tribes. Their prescribed itinerary included northwestern Texas, New Mexico, the California and Oregon coast, with a return circuit of South Pass and Council Bluffs. The scheme emphasized Indian work. The Mormon leader asked the company to establish a settlement among the natives, where some of the group would remain until met by the emigrating body of the Saints.<sup>33</sup>

Six weeks later, Smith's interest in the Native Americans had not cooled. He and his Council of Fifty met with eleven Native Americans. "We had a very pleasant and impressive interview," secretary William Clayton wrote without providing detail.<sup>34</sup> In another session the Council of Fifty [discussed the possibility of a] Mormon colony led by Lyman Wight [to] be placed near the "Cordillera," or Rocky Mountains, at the headwaters of the Red and Colorado Rivers, . . . somewhere in the expansive American Southwest. [Joseph Smith's] instructions, Wight recalled, were designed to bring the Lamanites the "knowledge of the truth, [thus] paving the way for the redemption of Zion and building the Temple in Jackson County." Amasa Lyman [recorded that] Joseph had given the leading elders a "frank relation" about their Lamanite mission and said "don't stop" till it was accomplished.<sup>35</sup> Such advice was difficult for even Smith to follow. With events in Nauvoo pressing hard upon him and his campaign for the American presidency requiring the labor of the Church's elders, Smith postponed the western expedition until fall.<sup>36</sup>

The halt did not end Smith's Native American activity. There were a few last events that gave his career a symmetry. He had become preoccupied by the Lamanite and interested

in the West, and his final days had similar themes. Five days before his death, Smith and his closest associates passed over the Mississippi River. They thought they might find refuge from their troubles in the Rocky Mountains, they explained.<sup>37</sup> Then they returned to Nauvoo, where Smith, dressed in his Nauvoo Legion uniform and standing on a "small house frame," spoke to his followers before going to fateful Carthage. Only reminiscent accounts remain, but their reports appear faithful to themes that had compelled Smith during his life. You will yet be called upon to go the "strongholds of the Rocky Mountains," Smith predicted. "You will gather the Red Man . . . from their scattered and dispersed situation to become the strong arm of Jevovah." At that time, he continued, the Lamanite would become "a strong bulwark of protection from your foes."<sup>38</sup>

In the Mormon theological view, the Native American was not the European's noble savage of the wilderness. Nor was he the evil barrier to white man's progress that so many American settlers thought. He was, instead, a tool of divine pleasure, soon to be the Lord's delight.

In a millennial outburst of faith, the first Mormons had sought "the Remnant," and their quest shaped their movement's history. ▀

Excerpts from "Seeking the 'Remnant': The Native American during the Joseph Smith Period," *Journal of Mormon History* 19 (Spring 1993):1-33, by Ronald W. Walker, Senior Research Fellow at the Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for Church History, Brigham Young University, and professor of history. Parts of this article were read as the presidential address at the

Mormon History Association annual meeting, May 1992, in St. George, Utah.



## Notes

1 W. W. Phelps, "The Red Man," in W. W. Phelps to Oliver Cowdery, 6 Nov. 1834, Letter No. 2, Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate 1 (1 Dec. 1834): 34. The poem later became the lyrics for Hymn no. 63 in A Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of the Latter Day Saints, selected by Emma Smith (Kirtland, OH: F. G. Williams & Co., 1835), 83–84.

2 D&C 49:24–28; Joseph Smith, Jr., History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. by B. H. Roberts, 7 vols., 2nd ed. rev. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1951 printing), 1:189.

3 D&C 28:8–9; 30:5–6; 32:2–3; and Times and Seasons 4 (15 April 1843): 172. As a further indication of the temper of the conference, Smith read Isaiah 5, which in his interpretative eyes revealed Israel's latter-day gathering, when "an ensign to the nations" should be lifted. Far West Record: Minutes of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1844, ed. by Donald Q. Cannon and Lyndon W. Cook (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1983), 3.

4 Warren A. Jennings, "Isaac McCoy and the Mormons," Missouri Historical Review 61 (Oct. 1966): 62–64.

5 John C. McCoy in Kansas City Journal, 26 Jan. 1879 and 18 Jan. 1885, qtd. in Warren A. Jennings, "The First Mormon Mission to the Indians," Kansas Historical Quarterly 37 (Autumn 1971): 296–97.

6 Delilah Lykins to John and Christiana Polke McCoy, 31 July 1831, cited in Jennings, "Isaac McCoy and the Mormons," 65.

7 Evening and the Morning Star 1 (Dec. 1832): [54]; (Jan. 1833): [62]; 2 (June 1833): 101; W. W. Phelps to Oliver Cowdery, 13 Nov. 1834, Letter III, Latter Day Saint Messenger and Advocate 1 (1 Dec. 1834): 33–34.

8 James Stapleton Lewis, *Journal and Autobiography*, books 2–4, 18–19, 36, LDS Church Archives. The initial contact with these Indians was in 1832, apparently in Ohio or Indiana. "Their humility surpassed anything I have ever seen before or since," said Lewis, who was one of the Mormon missionaries.

9 Joseph Smith to W. W. Phelps, 31 July 1832, Personal Writings of Joseph Smith, compiled and ed. by Dean C. Jessee (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1984), 247.

10 Smith to John Thorton, et al., 25 July 1836, *ibid.*, 2:458.

11 Letter from Missouri, 28 June 1834, Daily National Intelligence (Washington, D.C.), 23 July 1834.

12 "Statement of Isaac McCoy," 28 Nov. 1833, in Missouri Republican (St. Louis), 20 Dec. 1833. See also Jennings, "Isaac McCoy and the Mormons," 62–82.

13 History of the Church, 1:431; Parley P. Pratt, History of the Late Persecution Inflicted by the State of Missouri upon the Mormons (Detroit: Dawson & Bates, 1839), 18.

14 Latter Day Saints' Messenger and Advocate 2 (Aug. 1836): 354.

15 Affidavit of John N. Sapp, 4 Sept. 1838, and Affidavit of Nathan Marsh, in Daniel Ashby, et al., to Lilburn W. Boggs, 1 Sept. 1838, in Missouri State Department, Document Containing the Correspondence, Orders, &c. in Relation to the Disturbances with the Mormons (Fayette, MO: Office of the Boon's Lick Democrat, 1841), 15–17.

16 In addition to Warren A. Jennings, "Zion Is Fled: The Expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County, Missouri" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Florida, 1962), see Stephen C. LeSueur, The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), 71; and B. H. Roberts in History of the Church, 3:46. The "Fishing River" revelation, 22 June 1834, firmly instructed the Saints to adopt a peaceful course, while suggesting that the "Destroyer," perhaps the Native Americans of the region, would perform a more militant duty (D&C 105:14–15).

17 E. A. Lampkin to Maj. Thomas G. Bradford, 8 Sept. 1838, Bradford Correspondence, and Eli Haigler to Parents, Sister, and Brothers, 19 Sept. 1838, in Franklin County Tribune, 24 Mar. 1922, both cited in LeSueur, The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri, 72.

18 B. M. Lisle, Adjutant-General, to David R. Atchison, 30 Aug. 1838, in History of the Church, 3:65.

19 Wilford Woodruff, Diary, 13 July 1840, Woodruff Papers, LDS Church Archives; Millennial Star 1 (Aug. 1840): 89; Women's Exponent 15 (May 1883); and William G. Hartley, John Lowe Butler: History and Autobiography of a Mormon Frontiersman (Provo, UT: John Lowe Butler Family Organization, 1992), 156–62.

20 Most missionary Indian diaries are sparse to the point of omission. To cite one example, after Brigham Young received the "keys" to preach to the Indians in 1835, "we visited & preached to them [and] they believed it," he said several years later. "Council in Office," 27 Feb. 1845, Bullock's Minutes, Brigham Young Papers. Yet Young's diary at the time is silent on the episode.

21 Edward Stevenson, Autobiography, 63, LDS Church Archives.

22 John Butler, Autobiography, 21, Special Collections, Lee Library, BYU. Butler gives the year 1842 for his missions, but Butler's biographer places the work two years earlier. Hartley, John Lowe Butler, 156–62. Also see Phebe W. Woodruff to Wilford Woodruff, 4 May 1840, in Millennial Star (August 1840): 89–90.

23 Blessing given to Jonathan Dunham, 15 July 1837, and Missionary Diaries, 1837 and 1839, Jonathan Dunham Papers, LDS Church Archives.

24 Dunham, Diary, 3 May–9 June 1840.

25 James Blakeslee to George A. Smith, Journal History, 20 Sept. 1840.

26 History of the Church, 4:401; Alexander Neibaur, Journal, 12 Aug. 1841, Special Collections, Lee Library, BYU.

27 Mr. Hitchcock to John Chambers, in John King to John Chambers, 14 July 1843, Iowa Superintendency, 1838–49, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–81, BIA Microfilm #363, 357–60; Helen Mar Whitney, "Scenes and Incidents in Nauvoo," Woman's Exponent 11 (1 Oct. 1882): 70; and History of the Church, 5:479–81.

28 King to Chambers, 14 July 1843, Iowa Superintendency, 1838–49, Letters Received, 360.

29 14 July 1843, History of the Church, 5:509.

30 Dunham, Journal, 16 July to 26 Aug. 1843. Most of these entries are published in History of the Church, 5:542–49.

31 King to Chambers, 14 July 1843, Letters Received, 360; 28 Aug. 1843, History of the Church, 5:556.

32 History of the Church, 5:556; Joseph Smith to Pottawatamie Indians, 28 Aug. 1843, Joseph Smith Papers, LDS Church Archives.

33 "Obituary," Gospel Herald (Voree, Wisconsin) 4 (14 June 1849): 54.

34 4 April 1844, An Intimate Chronicle, 128.

35 "Council in Office," 27 Feb. 1845, Bullock's Minutes.

36 "Obituary," Gospel Herald 4 (14 June 1849): 54.

37 History of the Church, 6:547.

38 William Pace, Autobiography, 4, Special Collections, Lee Library, BYU. Pace was apparently quoting Alfred Bell of Lehi, Utah, who reportedly made a transcript of Smith's address. For other versions of the speech, which claimed to be copies of William Clayton's report, see Wilford Woodruff, Affidavit, 18 Nov. 1878, and John S. Fullmer, Statement, 28 April 1881, John S. Fullmer Letter Book; both in LDS Church Archives.

**Visuals:** "Prairie chief," #v. 03 (4); "As it was in the old days," #v. 19 (5); "Kutenai camp," #v. 07 (8); "Sunset in Navaho-land," #v. 01 (9) courtesy Northwestern University Library, Edward S. Curtis's "The North American Indian": The Photographic Images, 2001. Go into the Wilderness by Robert T. Barrett (6–7), © by Intellectual Reserve, Inc. Chief Keokuk monument (11) © Kenneth R. Mays.

## Chapter Eternal

In loving memory of our SUP brothers who have recently joined their pioneer forebears on the other side of the veil. Pioneer rejoices in the lives of these good men and extends its sympathies and good wishes to families and loved ones.

Tom Doxey, Twin Peaks

Dale Klingler,

Upper River Valley

Neldon E. Nichols, Mesa

Harold Nielson, USRV

Norman Ricks,

Upper River Valley

Vaughan C. Sofie, Murray

Mark E. Taylor, Sevier Valley

Walter Wallace, Mesa



# CHIEF Keokuk

## SUP New Members

### At Large

Roger L. Francis  
Merrill Lofthouse  
James A. Marples

### Bountiful

Ray A. Christensen  
Stephen M. Hadley  
Earl S. Jones  
Theral Nielsen  
Don O. Warner

### Box Elder

Robert E. Bateman  
Denton H. Beecher  
John R. Small

### Brigham Young

Dale Chapman  
Glen H. Eldredge

### Canyon Rim

Loy K. Despain  
George D. Hall

### Cedar City

Haken J. Anderson  
W. Kent Corry  
Fred R. Green  
Thomas H. Holyoak  
Lewis Kimball Jones

### Centerville

George W. Kirkland  
S. Boyd Smith

### Cotton Mission

Lee R. Chugg  
DuWayne Eyre

### Eagle Rock

Moroni 'Rone'  
Clawson

### Grove City

Stanley Harwell  
Ray R. Rockwood

### Holladay

Kirk Brimley  
Stephen W.

### Brockbank

Douglas Holland  
Edward Lunt  
Harold Lee Obray  
Earl M. Wallace  
Kenneth L. Watson

### Hurricane Valley

Arlond Hawkins

### Jordan River

Temple  
Gerald J. Allred

### Mesa

Hal Holladay

### Mills

Raymond F. Alvey  
Rowland M. Cannon

### Gary Keith Hatfield

Frank Johnson

### Morgan

Paul Dickson  
Wallace D. Green  
Keith Johnson  
Ken Lovell

### A. Earl McCain

Earl J. McEwen  
Abbott Mikesell

### Jerry P. Peterson

Robert P. Richins  
Francis L. Tilby

### Mountain Valley

Grant Casper

### Ogden Pioneer

David Thomas Clark  
Robert H. DeBoer

### Pioneer Heritage

Ralf L. Pollei  
David B. Thompson

### Salt Lake Pioneer

James L. Farmer  
Ramon E. Johnson  
Ralph J. Thomson

### Settlement Canyon

Burton Cahoon  
Joe D. England  
Michael C. Johnsen

### Sevier Valley

Delbert R. Dimick  
Richard Moss  
David C. Ogden

### Kinley K. Peterson

Steven Dee Rowley

### Squaw Peak

Lloyd F. Davis

### New Life

### Member

Byron J. Riches,  
Holladay

Joseph Smith did not have many opportunities himself to directly teach the descendants of the Book of Mormon people. On one occasion, however, he was called upon by the Indian Keokuk [during the] summer of 1841 in Nauvoo. Keokuk was accompanied by Kiskukosh, Appenoose, and about one hundred chiefs and braves of the Sac and Fox tribes, along with their families.<sup>1</sup>

Elder B. H. Roberts gives the following account of this visit: "They were brought over from the Iowa side on the ferry and two large flat boats. The legion band . . . met them at the landing, but as soon as Keokuk failed to recognize President Smith among those who had come to bid him welcome, he refused to land or allow any of his party to go ashore until the president made his appearance. . . . At the grove President Smith addressed the Indians at some length, upon what the Lord had revealed to him concerning their forefathers, and recited to them the promises contained in the Book of Mormon. . . . They listened to the prophet relate the story of their forefathers."

Keokuk [replied], "I have a Book of Mormon at my wigwam that you gave me a number of moons ago. I believe you are a great and good man. Keokuk looks rough, but I am a son of the Great Spirit. I have heard your advice. We intend to quit fighting, and follow the good talk you have given us."<sup>2</sup>

Chief Keokuk discouraged his tribe from fighting the whites as they would outnumber the Indians. He would say, "They are springing up like grass on the prairies." He was born about 1790 near the Rock River in Illinois and died around 1848 in Kansas. When Black Hawk supported the British in the War of 1812, Keokuk refused to join him, thereby gaining recognition and support from the U.S. government. Keokuk visited Washington D.C. in 1833 and 1837.<sup>3</sup> This monument marks his grave at Keokuk, Iowa. □

1 "Mingled Destinies the Lamanites and the Latter-day Saints," by Dean L. Larsen, *Ensign* (Dec. 1975): 10–11.

2 B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1930), 88–89.

3 The Columbia Encyclopedia, ed. by Paul Legassé, 6th ed. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2001).

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truths..."*

## ENCAMPMENT ONLY Registration Form

Thursday, July 7, 2005

1:30-4:30 pm: Registration  
5:00-6:30 pm: Opening  
Ceremonies & Dinner  
6:40 pm: Depart for optional  
theatre night

Friday, July 8, 2005

Breakfast on your own  
7:15-8:30 am: Chapter Pres. Mtg.  
8:50 am-6:00 pm: Bus Tours  
6:30-9:30 pm: Dinner,  
Entertainment & Speaker

Location: Radisson Hotel (Trevose, PA)

Saturday, July 9, 2005

Breakfast on your own  
7:30-9:00 am: Nat. Brd. Bkfst. Mtg.  
9:30-11:30 am: Business Mtg.  
& Spouse Program  
Noon-2:30PM, Spkr., Awards, Lunch

**Thursday Optional Theatre Night:** Performance at Historic Bucks County Playhouse, New Hope, PA  
"Pirates of Penzance" discounted ticket price: \$19.00 / seat

**FRIDAY BUS TOURS:** Mark your preferred choice of the tours.

Local Tour #1a: Philadelphia and Mormon Hollow: Bus tour of Independence National Historical Park (INHP), nearby walking sites, and Mormon Hollow (Edward Hunter Home).

LOCAL tour cost, \$37.50  I'm already on a TREK TOUR or will provide own transportation: \$18.00

Local Tour #1b (NEW): Philadelphia, Valley Forge: Bus tour of INHP (as above), Valley Forge Nat. Hist. Prk.

LOCAL tour cost, \$45.00  I'm already on a TREK TOUR or will provide own transportation: \$28.00

Switch to Tour 1b from another tour: Additional cost \$7.50 for "LOCAL tour" or  
\$10 for "already on a TREK TOUR"

Local Tour #2: Bucks County: Bus tour of William Penn home, Washington Crossing State Park, Michener Museum.

LOCAL tour cost, \$37.50  I'm already on a TREK TOUR or will provide own transportation: \$18.00

Local Tour #3: Self-guided tour of the covered wooden bridges and other sights of Bucks County (Not a bus tour)  No charge via your own transportation; no RVs, no lunch. We will provide maps.

Indicate a second choice bus tour (1a, 1b, or 2) in case the one you chose above is not available: \_\_\_\_\_

See the Encampment web site: [www.sup2005.com](http://www.sup2005.com) for details on the Encampment and the tours.

Note 1: Tours 1a, 1b & 2 include bus transportation, box lunch, and tickets to planned events.

Note 2: Tours 1a and 1b include guided tours of Independence Hall; tickets are for specific times and require arriving 45-60 minutes ahead of time to pass through security.

Note 3: All who have previously registered for what was called "Tour #1: Historic Philadelphia" are automatically registered for "Tour 1a." Individuals who previously registered for "Tour #1: Historic Philadelphia" or "Tour #2: Bucks County" and wish to switch to the new tour "Tour 1b" must pay the additional costs indicated above (see "Switch to Tour 1b from another tour" above).

Note 4: All tours and events are subject to availability, possibly requiring substitutions. Itineraries may vary somewhat even within a tour.

Note 5: Participants in bus tours are strongly urged to ride the bus, as group entry may be required to avoid incurring additional entry fees for some events.

### Registration Fees:

(\$10 discount for registration for any youth under age 19) Number # mult. by rate

Regular Registration (postmarked by April 15) \$115.00 \_\_\_\_\_

Late Registration (postmarked April 16 & after) \$135.00 \_\_\_\_\_

"Pirates of Penzance" optional play on Thursday \$19.00 \_\_\_\_\_

Bus Tours (including, if applicable, a switch to Tour 1B) \_\_\_\_\_

### Names of those in Party:

Total to Remit: \_\_\_\_\_

SUP Member: \_\_\_\_\_ Other Adults: \_\_\_\_\_

Children or Youth, if applicable: \_\_\_\_\_

Mailing Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Email Address: \_\_\_\_\_ Phone #: \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to The Sons of Utah Pioneers.

Mail check & the entire form to Suzanne Lucas, 5439 Windtree Drive, Doylestown, PA 18901

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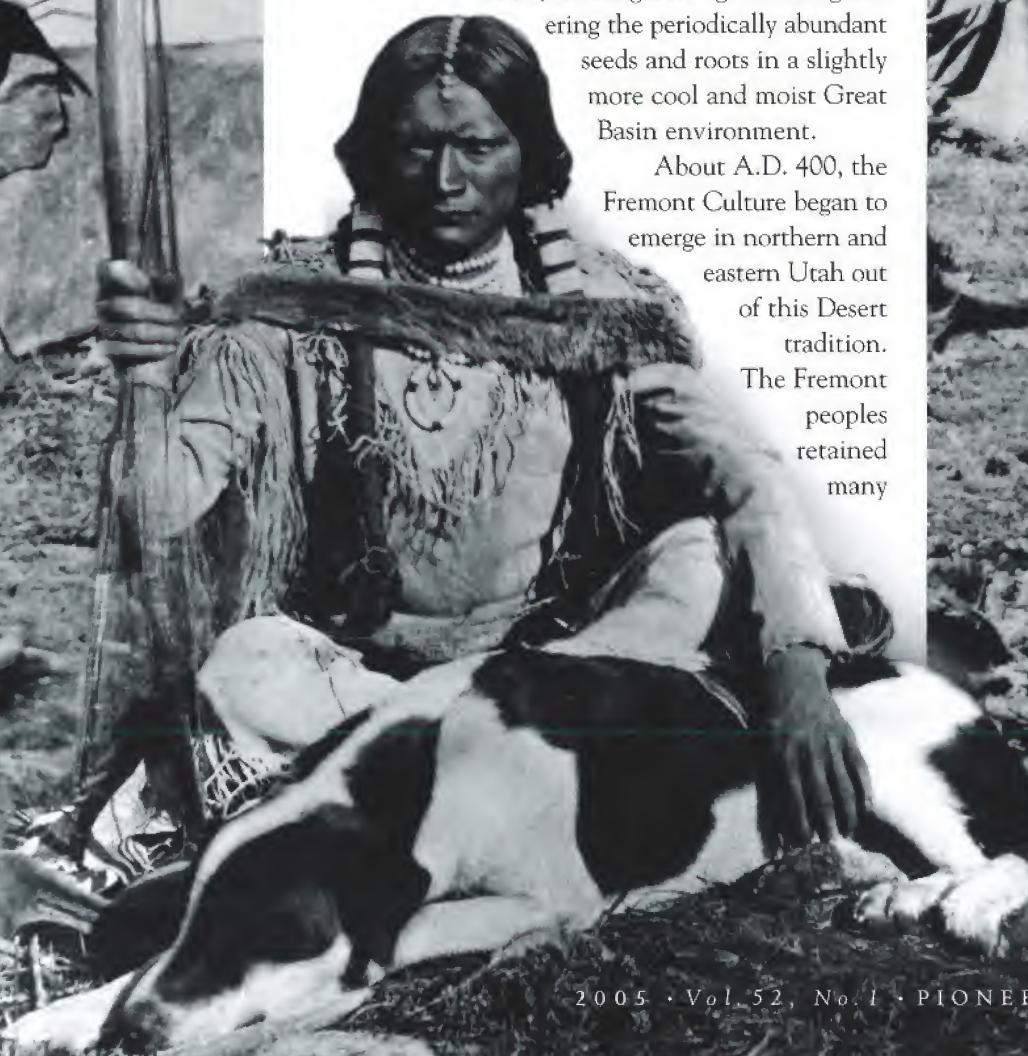
## *Before the Mormons*

by David Rich Lewis

Long before Euro-Americans entered the Great Basin, substantial numbers of people lived within the present boundaries of Utah. Archaeological reconstructions suggest human habitation stretching back some 12,000 years. The earliest known inhabitants were members of what has been termed the Desert Archaic Culture—nomadic hunter-gatherers with developed basketry, flaked-stem stone tools, and implements of wood and bone. They inhabited the region between 10,000 B.C. and A.D. 400. These peoples moved in extended family units, hunting small game and gathering the periodically abundant seeds and roots in a slightly more cool and moist Great Basin environment.

About A.D. 400, the Fremont Culture began to emerge in northern and eastern Utah out of this Desert tradition.

The Fremont peoples retained many



## The Basketmaker

Desert hunting-gathering characteristics yet also incorporated a maize-bean-squash horticultural component by A.D. 800–900. They lived in masonry structures and made sophisticated basketry, pottery, and clay figurines for ceremonial purposes. Numic peoples displaced or absorbed the Fremont sometime after A.D. 1000.

Beginning in A.D. 400, the Anasazi, with their Basketmaker Pueblo Culture traditions, moved into southeastern Utah from south of the Colorado River. Like the Fremont to the north, the Anasazi (a Navajo word meaning “the ancient ones”) were relatively sedentary peoples who had developed a maize-bean-squash-based agriculture. The Anasazi built rectangular masonry dwellings and large apartment complexes that were tucked into cliff faces or situated on valley floors such as the structures at Grand Gulch and Hovenweep National Monument. They constructed pithouse granaries and made coiled and twined basketry, clay figurines, and fine gray-black pottery. The Anasazi prospered until A.D. 1200–1400 when climactic changes, crop failures, and the intrusion of Numic hunter-gatherers forced a southward migration and reintegration with the Pueblo peoples of Arizona and New Mexico.

In Utah, the Numic- (or Shoshonean) speaking peoples of the Uto-Aztecan language family evolved into four distinct groups in the historic period: the Northern Shoshone, Goshute or Western Shoshone, Southern Paiute, and Ute peoples. The Northern Shoshone—including the Bannock, Fort Hall, and Wind River Shoshone (Nimi)—were hunter-gatherers who rapidly adopted many Plains Indian traits through trade. They occupied an area mainly north and east of the state, yet periodically

**Anasazi culture  
is well known because  
of its spectacular cultural  
remains: architecture,  
beautifully woven basketry,  
pottery, and rock art.**

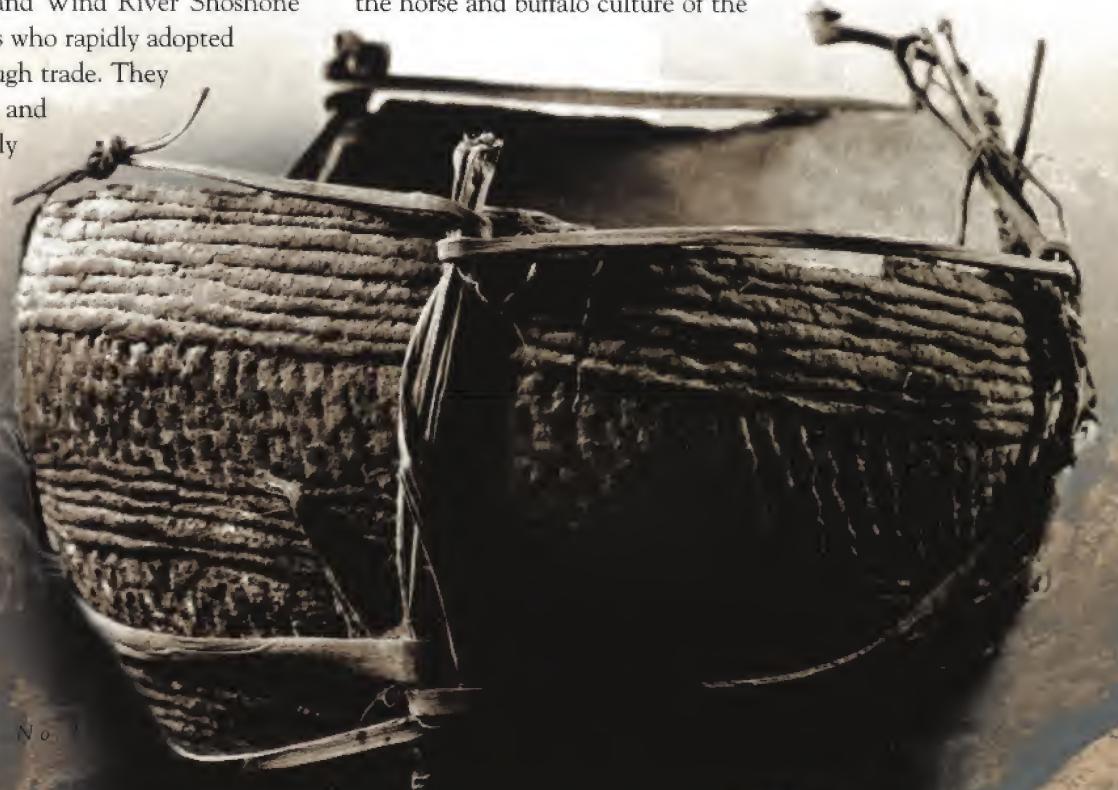
utilized subsistence ranges in Utah. The Goshute (Kusiutta) inhabited the inhospitable western deserts of Utah. Derogatorily labeled “Digger Indians” by early white observers, the Goshute were supremely adaptive hunter-gatherers living in small nomadic family bands. They constructed wickiups or brush shelters, gathered seasonal seeds, grasses, and roots, collected insects, larvae, and small reptiles, and hunted antelope, deer, rabbits, and other small mammals. The Southern

Paiute (Nuwuvi) lived in southwestern Utah, where they combined their hunting-gathering subsistence system with some flood-plain gardening—an adaptation attributable to Anasazi influences. The Southern Paiute were non-warlike and suffered at the hands of their more aggressive Ute neighbors in the historic period.

The Ute (Nuciu) people can be divided into eastern and western groups. The eastern Utes inhabited the high plateaus and Rocky Mountain parks of Colorado and northern New Mexico, and consisted of the Yamparka and Parianuc (White River Utes), the Taviwac (Uncompahgre Utes), the Wiminuc, Kapota, and Muwac (Southern and Ute Mountain Utes). The western or Utah Utes inhabited the central and eastern two-thirds of the state. Utah Ute bands included the Cumumba or Weber Utes, the Tumpanuwac, Uinta-ats, Pahvant, San Pitch, and Sheberetch (Uintah Utes).

The Ute were hunter-gatherers who quickly adopted the horse and buffalo culture of the

Background Indian petroglyphs and right: prehistoric basket found in Westwater Anasazi Ruin by the Utah State Archeologist team.



Plains Indians. They became noted raiders and traded horses between the Spanish Southwest and the northern plains. Utes actively participated in Spanish campaigns against Navajo and Apache raiders and conducted their own slave trade with the Spanish against the Southern Paiute and Navajo. Utes lived in brush wickiups or skin tepees and traveled in extended family units with seasonal band congregations. There was only a general sense of "tribal" identity with the other Ute bands, based on a common language and shared beliefs.

By the year 1700 Navajos began to move into the San Juan River drainage area of Utah in search of pasture for their herds of Spanish sheep and goats. The Navajo (Dine) were recent immigrants to the Southwest—migrant Athabaskan-speaking peoples from the subarctic who arrived sometime between A.D. 1300 and 1400. The Navajo were highly adaptive hunter-gatherers who incorporated domestic livestock and agriculture into their subsistence system. They lived in dispersed extended family units in northern Arizona, New Mexico, and southeastern Utah, dwelling in hogans. While maintaining fair relations with the Spanish and Pueblo peoples, Navajos came under intense pressure from raiding Utes from the 1720s through the 1740s, forcing many to retreat from Utah.

Numerous explorers and trappers—Rivera, Domínguez and Escalante, Provost, Robidoux, Ashley, Ogden, Smith, Carson, Bridger, and Goodyear—ventured through Utah between 1776 and 1847, making contact and trading with the Native American peoples. They established economic relations but exerted little if any political control over the native peoples of Utah. When the Mormon migration began, there were more than 20,000 Indians living in Utah.

The Mormons settled in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847—a neutral or buffer zone between the Shoshone and Ute peoples. Conflict between Mormons and Indians did not really begin until Mormons extended their settlements south into Utah Valley—a major trade crossroads and subsistence area for the Ute people.

The Indian Bureau and the Mormon church operated reservation farms for the benefit of Indian peoples, but these farms either proved inadequate or failed completely. Weakened by disease and starvation, Ute Indians faced

*Stunning petroglyphs were discovered in the Glen Canyon Recreation Area, pictured right, identified as "Anasazi fighting figures."*





Numerous explorers and trappers—including Father Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, pictured above—ventured through Utah between 1776 and 1847, making contact and trading with the Native American peoples.

annihilation or retreat. In 1861 President Abraham Lincoln set aside the Uintah Valley Indian Reservation for the Utah Ute people. In 1881–82 the federal government relocated the White River and Uncompahgre Ute from Colorado to the Uintah and Ouray reservations in eastern Utah. Today these three bands are collectively called the Northern Ute Tribe.

In a series of treaties with the Shoshone, Bannock, and Goshute in 1863 and with the Ute and Southern Paiute in 1865, the federal government moved to extinguish Indian land claims in Utah and to confine all Indians to reservations. The Goshutes refused to leave their lands for either the Fort Hall or Uintah reservations. They lived on in the west desert until granted a reservation in the 1910s. Likewise, the Southern Paiute refused to go to the Uintah Reservation and eventually settled in the uninhabited hills and desert areas of southern Utah. In the early twentieth century the Kaibab, Shivwits, Cedar City, Indian Peaks, Kanosh, and Koosharem groups of Southern Paiutes finally received tracts of reserved land. The small number of Navajo living in Utah increased dramatically following the conquest and imprisonment of the Navajo at the Bosque Redondo in New Mexico between 1862 and 1868. Many moved to the San Juan and Monument Valley regions of Utah, which became part of the Navajo Reservation in 1884.

In 1871 the federal government ended the practice of making treaties and instituted a legislative approach to

administering Indian affairs. In 1887 Congress passed the Dawes General Allotment (or Severalty) Act, aimed at breaking up Indian reservations into individual farms for tribal members and opening the rest for public sale. Policy makers intended to detribalize native peoples and turn them into yeoman farmers and citizens; but the policy was largely a failure. Indians resisted farming and most reservation environments limited agrarian success. Allotment did, however, break up the Indian estate. In 1897 and 1904 the Indian Bureau allotted the Uintah and Ouray reservations. Tribal land holdings fell from nearly four million acres to 360,000 acres, and individual sale of Indian allotments further reduced Northern Ute lands. Nationwide, Indians lost more than eighty percent of their lands by 1930. Poverty, unemployment, underdevelopment, and health problems plagued most reservations, and Native Americans became ever more dependent on the federal government. ▀

David Rich Lewis is a history professor at Utah State University, author of numerous scholarly articles, and *Neither Wolf nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994). Lewis is currently the editor of the Western Historical Quarterly.

**Source:** <http://historytogo.utah.gov/natives.html>; "Native Americans in Utah," Utah History Encyclopedia

**Visuals:** Ute Indians, p. 31 (13); Shoshone Village, p. 2 (13); Petroglyphs, p. 38 (14); and Basket, p. 1 (14) © Utah State Historical Society. "Anasazi Fighting Figures," (15) © Utah Travel Council. Chief Waccara by Solomon Carvalho (17) © Gilcrease Museum.

# Waccara's Utes

by Stephen P. Van Hoak

The Western Utes or Nùciu, as they refer to themselves, had inhabited the eastern Great Basin for centuries prior to Euro-American contact. Utes are a Numic-speaking people whose arrival in the eastern Great Basin is thought to have occurred around a.d. 1300. One theory posits that the Utes were able to displace the region's previous inhabitants, the agriculturalist Anasazi and Fremont peoples, through superior hunting and gathering adaptations.<sup>1</sup>



Five distinct historical divisions of Utah Utes, based largely on geography, are commonly recognized. These are the Pahvant, Sanpits, Moanunts, Timpanogots, and, beginning in the 1830s, the Uintahs. Although each division had its own "territory," many Western Utes frequently hunted, gathered, and fished in the territories of other groups, especially at Utah Lake.<sup>2</sup>

[When] Spanish missionary Francisco Atanasio Domínguez led the first recorded Euro-American expedition into the Great Basin, . . . [he] found the Western Utes unmounted and eager to procure Spanish trade and assistance against their Shoshoni enemies.<sup>3</sup> The Western Utes bartered beaver pelts and captives procured from neighboring tribes to New Mexican traders . . . and purchased horses and guns directly from [New Mexico]. At the end of the eighteenth century, . . . Western Utes began to acquire [horses] in increasing numbers. They were soon able to dislodge the Shoshoni from their hunting grounds in the Uinta Basin.<sup>4</sup>

By the 1840s . . . the Western Utes needed ever-greater numbers of horses for pursuit and transportation, [and as] highly desired symbols of status and wealth in Western Ute society.<sup>5</sup> The response of many Western Utes to these pressures was to implement a new yearly migratory cycle that provided greater access to traders, to potential targets of raids, and to buffalo. The leader who directed these Western Ute pioneers was Waccara.

The new seasonal migration of Waccara's Utes began with a winter journey to California, which served to mitigate the detrimental effects of the severe Utah weather on the size and health of the Ute herd. With its mild climate and abundant pasture lands, California was a virtual paradise for the Utes' horses, which grew healthy and strong during the winter months. Initially, these trips were primarily trading expeditions, but eventually the Utes were enticed . . . into raiding for horses as well. The thinly populated and dispersed Mexican ranches and settlements

Ute Indian Chief Waccara, pictured left, also known as Wakara, or Walker

could muster little defense against Waccara's well-armed warriors.

A typical expedition to California by Waccara's band began in the late fall with a long journey southwest over the Spanish Trail. The Western Ute horses, robust from months of grazing in the Sevier Valley grasslands, were laden with a multitude of fine pelts and skins obtained earlier that fall. Along the trail, Waccara's Utes pressured the unmounted and bow-armed Southern Paiute to trade away some of their women and children.<sup>6</sup> Continuing, . . . the

Utes eventually emerged through the San Bernardino Mountains and proceeded to visit friendly ranchers and traders . . . to [barter] their pelts, skins, and captives [in exchange] for horses [and] Euro-American goods. The use of the traders' land [was also] a safe haven for their women and children, a grazing area for their animals, and a base of operations for the warriors. They then began a long series of increasingly large-scale horse and cattle raids. Returning through the desert, Waccara usually again demanded women and children from the Paiutes, occasionally offering





in exchange horses that were unlikely to survive the remainder of the journey. Within a few weeks, Waccara's Utes reached the extensive pasture lands of southwestern Utah, where they rested and recruited their expanded herd.<sup>7</sup>

Waccara's Utes usually remained with their herd in southwestern Utah for several weeks. Many of the Utes' horses were weakened and undernourished from their journey through the desert, and the Western Utes arrived in Utah just as luxuriant grasses began to emerge from melting snow. Increasingly dependent on their horses, the

Western Utes were, in effect, "chasing grass"—migrating seasonally to areas with abundant forage. From California in December and early January, to southwestern Utah in late January and February, to the Sevier Valley in central Utah in March and early April, the Western Utes responded to the needs of their horses by providing them with access to grass during the months when deep snow covered the grass further north at Utah Lake. By April or May, the grass was green at Utah Lake, and Waccara's Utes converged there with most other Western Utes for their traditional spring gathering.

[In the spring] Waccara's people feasted on trout as a variety of visitors arrived in the valley to trade.<sup>8</sup> Navajos [traded] their well-crafted blankets, and New Mexican slave traders [bartered] guns, ammunition, knives, and other Euro-American products [for Waccara's Paiute captives]. With the coming of summer, however, the Western Utes again scattered, . . . "chasing grass" eastward to the Great Plains and the buffalo.

Native Americans and Euro-American explorers, trappers, and travelers began to fear and respect the power and influence of Waccara and his band.

The arrival of the Mormons in the Salt Lake Valley in 1847 initially complemented the yearly cycle of Waccara's Utes by providing them with an improved outlet for the proceeds of their raids and an enhanced source of Euro-American products. Horses fetched high prices in Salt Lake City as overland travelers on the Oregon Trail detoured there seeking replacements for their exhausted, diseased, or malnourished horses.<sup>9</sup> Buckskin suits became quite fashionable among the Mormons, who repeatedly paid the Utes higher prices for their skins than did the fur traders.<sup>10</sup> In exchange for these commodities, Waccara's Utes received not only such familiar items as guns, ammunition, knives, and blankets but also cattle, oxen, and other livestock, which served the Utes as a year-round secondary food source. Ute trade with the Mormons was more profitable, convenient, and diversified than it had been with any other trading partners.

Although the Mormons and Western Utes found common ground through their mutually beneficial trading relationship, they were diametrically opposed in their views and usage of land and resources. Unlike the Western Utes, who adapted to limited resources through dispersal and migration, . . . the Mormons brought their own domestic plants and animals to Utah and required comparatively little from nature—specifically, they needed areas for settlement that had abundant water, timber, good soil, and forage for their livestock. Unfortunately, the only such areas in Utah were already used by the Western Utes. This placed the Mormons at odds with the Western Utes. [Within] a few years after [the Mormon] arrival in Utah, . . .

**W**accara's Utes were known for their large-scale horse and cattle raids. . . .

Native Americans and Euro-American explorers, trappers, and travelers began to fear and respect the power and influence of Waccara and his band.



Western Utes, during the Waccara War of 1853–54, attempted to regain their access to trade and food resources by raiding Mormon settlements.

Waccara's band and others returning from seasonal migrations became "intruders" on their own land.<sup>11</sup>

By 1851, . . . the netting of fish by Mormons at Utah Lake dramatically reduced fish populations, resulting in food shortages during the Western Ute spring gathering.<sup>12</sup> The summer portion of Waccara's cycle was threatened by the continued eastward retreat of buffalo along the Platte River . . . [which] forced the Utes to travel increasing distances in search of buffalo. [The Mormon's] imported domestic plants, diverted waterways, hunted game, and cut trees for firewood reduced the fall resources available to Waccara's Utes.<sup>13</sup> The Mexican–American War and the consequent permanent movement of American troops into California significantly stiffened Californians' resistance to Ute winter horse raids.<sup>14</sup> Euro-American diseases such as measles began to ravage the Western Utes, reducing the numbers of warriors available for hunting and raiding throughout the year.<sup>15</sup>

By 1853, Waccara and his people, frustrated over declining food sources and trade restrictions, decided to obtain resources through one of the few remaining methods available to them: raids on Mormon settlements.

The Waccara War of 1853–54 was more a struggle by the Western Utes to regain their access to trade and food resources than an effort to dislodge the Mormons from Utah. Waccara and his people, though originally willing to grant the Mormons use of their land in exchange for trade, were angered by Mormon attempts to change the land, restrict Ute access to the land, and limit Ute trade. Waccara's limited goals in the series of raids he directed in the summer of 1853 were simply to obtain Mormon cattle

to feed his people and to force the Mormons into perpetually purchasing his Paiute captives.

Although the raids were initially successful, the Mormons soon began to "fort up" and station armed guards with their cattle. The greater numbers, tight organization, central control, and communal support of the Mormons provided them with a significant military edge over the dispersed Western Utes, whose loose, task-oriented social organization was ill-suited for military operations. [Within] four months Waccara, his people hungry and their ammunition exhausted, began to make peace overtures.<sup>16</sup> Waccara died within a year, after a protracted struggle with "lung fever."<sup>17</sup> □

Excerpts from Stephen P. Van Hoak, "Waccara's Utes: Native American Equestrian Adaptations in the Eastern Great Basin, 1776–1876," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 67 (Fall 1999): 309–30.

#### Notes

1 David B. Madsen, "Dating Paiute–Shoshoni Expansion in the Great Basin," *American Antiquity* 40.1 (1975): 82–85; Joseph G. Jorgensen, "The Ethnohistory and Acculturation of the Northern Ute" (M.A. thesis, Indiana Univ., 1964), 5–15; Anne M. Smith, *Ethnography of the Northern Utes*, Papers in Anthropology no. 17 (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1974), 10–17; Joel Clifford Janetski, *The Ute of Utah Lake*, Univ. of Utah Anthropological Papers no. 116 (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1991), 58.

2 Donald Callaway, Joel Janetski, and Omer C. Stewart, "Ute," in *Handbook of the North American Indians* vol. 11, Great Basin, ed. Warren D'Azevedo (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 338–40; Julian Haynes Stewart, *Aboriginal and Historical Groups of the Ute Indians of Utah: An Analysis with Supplement*, in *Ute Indians* 1, Garland Series, *American Indian Ethnohistory: California and Basin-Plateau Indians*, ed. David Agee Horr (New York: Garland Publishing, 1974), *passim*; Smith, *Ethnography*, 17–27. Only when the Mormons began to settle in Utah in the late 1840s did observers of Western Utes begin to note the primary residence or divisional membership of particular groups of Utes.

3 Vélez de Escalante, *Domínguez–Escalante Journal*, 54–56. Speaking to Domínguez, the Utes referred to their enemies to the north and east as

"Kommanche," but the Comanche had already moved onto the Great Plains by the eighteenth century, and the people the Utes spoke of were almost certainly Shoshoni. "Komancia" was a Numic term that meant "my adversary."

4 By the 1820s and 1830s, the Western Utes had plentiful guns as well as horses; see Jedediah S. Smith, *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah Strong Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826–1827*, ed. George R. Brooks (Glendale, CA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1977), 42–43; Warren Angus Ferris, *Life in the Rocky Mountains, 1830–1835*, ed. J. Cecil Alter and Herbert S. Auerbach (Salt Lake City: Rocky Mountain Book Shop, 1940), 216–19. For the expulsion of the Shoshoni from the Uinta Basin, see Janetski, *Ute of Utah Lake*, 20; Steward, *Groups of the Ute*, 14, 24, 66.

5 For an excellent study of status and wealth in Native American equestrian societies, see Bernard Mishkin, *Rank and Warfare among the Plains Indians* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1992); also see John C. Ewers, *The Horse in Blackfoot Indian Culture, with Comparative Material from Other Western Tribes*, Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 159 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1969), 28–30, 249, 314–16; Smith, *Ethnography*, 33; Ferris, *Rocky Mountains*, 239–40.

6 Stephen P. Van Hoak, "And Who Shall Have the Children: The Indian Slave Trade in the Southern Great Basin," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 41 (Spring 1998): 1–25; also see Huntington, *Vocabulary of the Utah*, 27; Daniel W. Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians: A True yet Thrilling Narrative of the Author's Experiences among the Indians* (Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1960), 48.

7 Beattie, *Heritage of the Valley*, 66; George Douglas Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson, A Narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in '48* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1930), 100; John C. Fremont, *Narratives of Exploration and Adventure*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1956), 417.

8 Bean, *Autobiography*, 51; *Journal History*, May 22, 1850; Fremont, *Narratives*, 419; Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1855 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1855), 522–23.

9 *Journal History*, June 13, 1849, Mar. 4, 1851; Juanita Brooks, "Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12.1–2 (1944): 6. In 1850 a good "Indian" pony could sell for up to \$50.

10 *Journal History*, June 2, 13, 1849, April 21, 1850; Brooks, "Mormon Frontier," 6.

11 Beverly P. Smaby, "The Mormons and the Indians: Conflicting Ecological Systems in the Great Basin," *American Studies* 16.1 (1975): 38–42.

12 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1849 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1849), 1003.

13 *Journal History*, Dec. 15, 1849, Nov. 20, 1850; Bean, *Autobiography*, 105; Smaby, "Conflicting Ecological Systems," 40–42.

14 The Mormons encouraged Waccara to give up his horse raids to California apparently in an effort to gain Californian support on issues of Utah statehood; see Lawrence, "Spanish Trail," 98. There is no evidence to support the contention of some that these raids continued until the death of Waccara; his last documented raid into California was in the winter of 1850–51; see *Journal History*, Mar. 4, 1851, and Beattie, *Heritage of the Valley*, 84.

15 *Journal History*, Dec. 8, 1849; Feb. 14, 1850; Feb. 20, 1850.

16 For the Waccara War, see H. Bartley Heiner, "Mormon–Indian Relations as Viewed through the Walker War" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1955), and Howard A. Christy, "The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47 (Fall 1979): 395–420. Also see Smaby, "Conflicting Ecological Systems," 38–42. By 1852, Mormons in Utah, with their higher reproductive rate, lower death rates, and immigration, greatly outnumbered Western Utes. Such a scenario was a consistent theme in Anglo western expansion; see West, *Way to the West*, 91.

17 Deseret News, Feb. 8, 1855.

**Visuals:** Night Raid, by Minerva Teichert (18–19), courtesy Brigham Young University Museum of Art. All Rights Reserved. Indian ambush by William de la Montagne Cary (20), courtesy Western History/Genealogy Department, Denver Public Library. Inset art by J. Leo Fairbanks (21) © by Intellectual Reserve, courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.



## Brigham Young's "Peace Corps" Program with Native Americans in Manti

by Lawrence G. Coates

Later in the fall of 1849, Brigham Young sent 225 young people to plant a colony in the San Pitch Valley . . . to cultivate peace with the Indians and to help them change their lifestyle from a hunting, food-gathering one to an agriculturally based one. In a real sense, Manti was intended to be a Mormon "peace corps" for Chief Walkara's band and the surrounding Indians.

Seeking to make a Mormon settlement on Walkara's land, [Brigham Young] promised to build [the chief] a house and to teach his people to build homes, raise livestock, make blankets, and read the Book of Mormon so they might know about their forefathers. He also promised to trade them ammunition to hunt with. Likewise seeking to impress Brigham Young . . . Walkara said: "Beyond the mountain, plenty of streams. From Salt Springs, over a mountain, lots of timber. The next sleep, good land, plenty of timber and grass. . . . If you come unto my land, my people shall not steal your cattle, nor whip them. I want the Mormon children to be with mine. . . . It is not good to fight. It makes women and children cry. But let women and children play together."

In the correspondence between Isaac Morley, president of the colony, and Brigham Young, Morley declared that Chief Walkara asked to be ordained so he could "spread the gospel to others" during his next trading expedition. Again reflecting on the purposes of the colony, Morley said: "Did we come here to enrich ourselves in the things of this world? No. We were sent to enrich the Natives and comfort the hearts of the long oppressed. Let us try the experiment and if we fail to accomplish the object, then say, Boys, come away." [Chief Walkara was baptized the following spring on 13 March 1850.]

During the first winter, . . . both the whites and Indians suffered from [the] heavy snows and cold weather. [An] epidemic of measles caused deaths among both peoples [and] there was a shortage of medication, food, clothing, and livestock feed. Fortunately, the Mormons and the Indians cooperated with each other during these hard times and formed strong bonds of friendship. □

**Source:** Lawrence G. Coates, "Brigham Young and Mormon Indian Policies: The Formative Period, 1836–1851," *BYU Studies* 18, no. 3 (1978): 428–52. Lawrence Coates, retired professor of history at Rick's College, received his B.S. and M.S. degrees from Utah State University and his Ed.D. from Ball State University.

## Jacob Hamblin *and the* Santa Clara Mission

by Milton R. Hunter

The Utah pioneers had learned through their early contacts with the natives that the Santa Clara Valley was the favorite rendezvous of the Paiute Indians in southern Utah. The first Mormon explorers to visit that region promised the Indians that Brigham Young, the white chief, would send some of his people among them to teach them to farm and live as white men lived. Twenty-three missionaries left Salt Lake City early in 1854 to labor with the Indians.

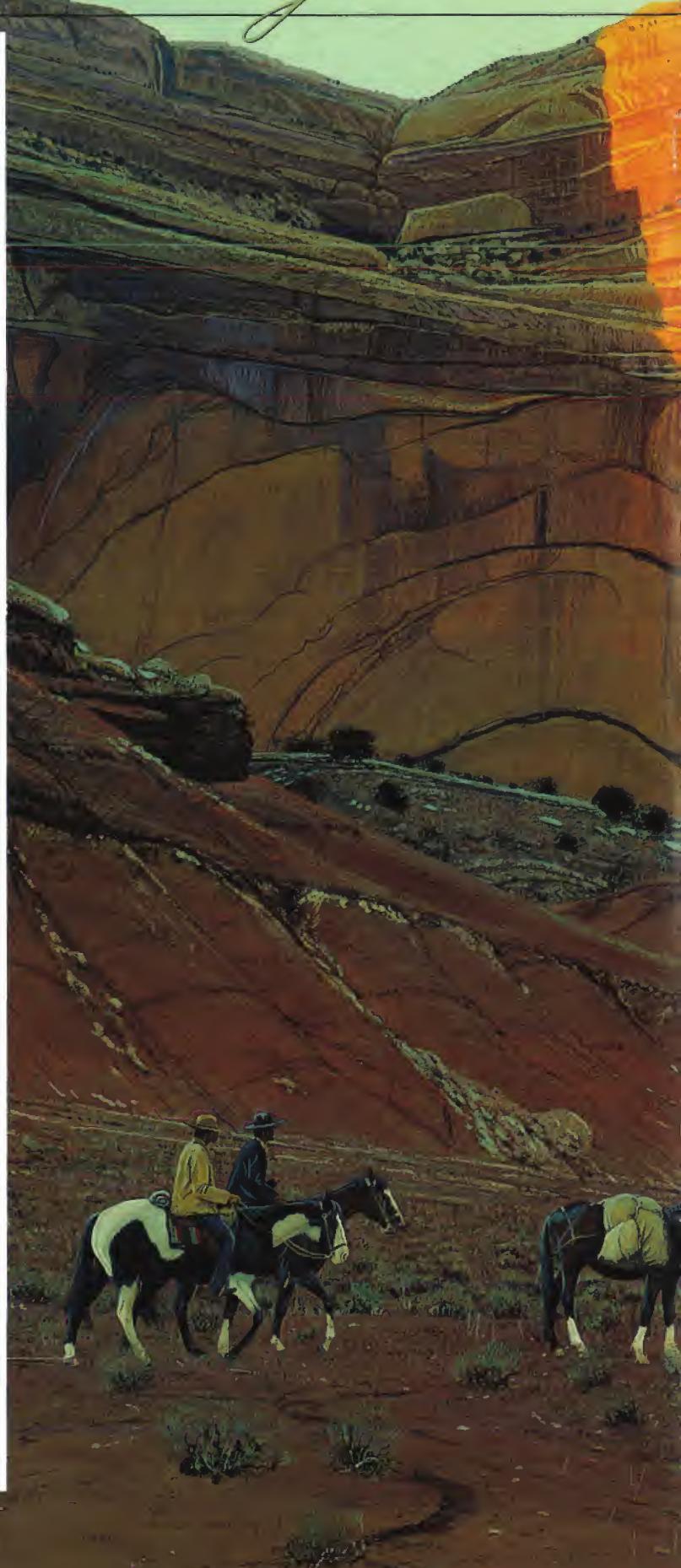
The most famous in the group was Jacob Hamblin. He is the most noted Mormon scout and Indian interpreter in Utah history. Around his personality developed this successful missionary enterprise.

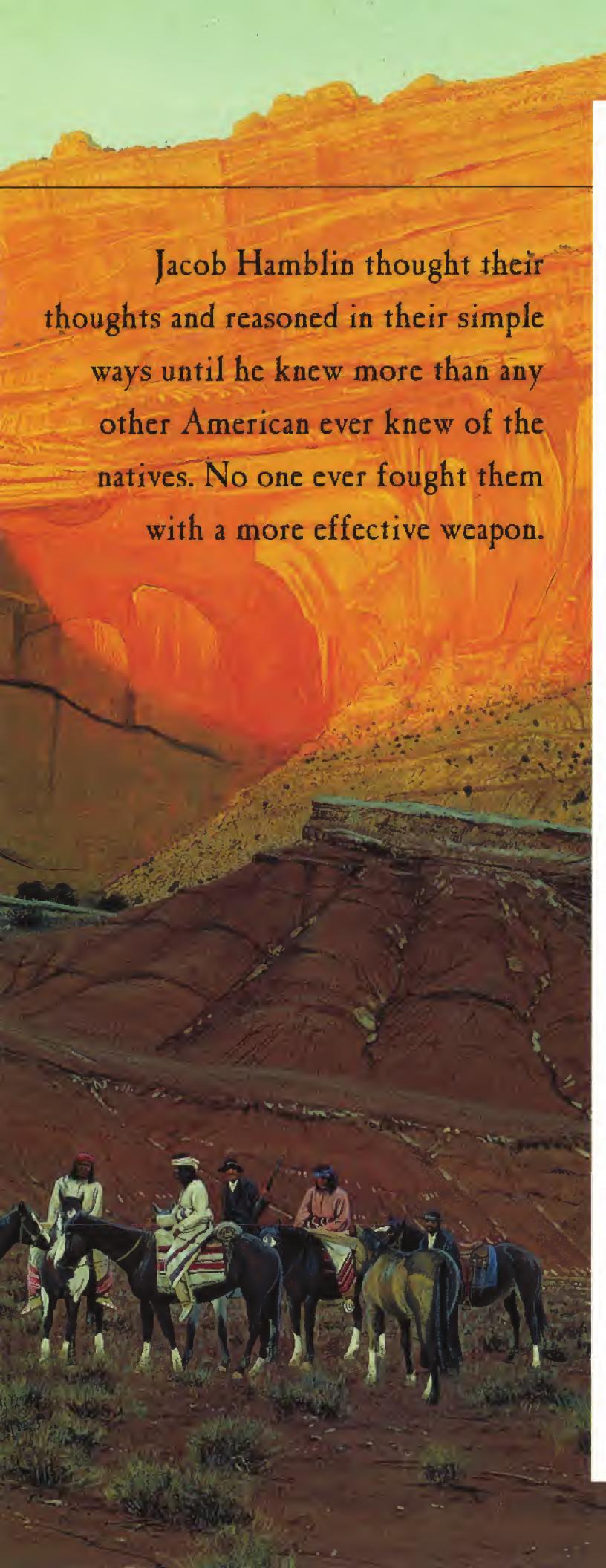
The missionaries arrived at John D. Lee's settlement, called Harmony, on May 16, 1854. Lee and his group had been sent to southern Utah two years earlier by Governor Young. Jacob Hamblin, Ira Hatch, William Hennefer, and several others [continued] down the Santa Clara and Virgin rivers [and] concluded that the most favorable spot for an Indian mission in southern Utah was the Santa Clara Valley. In December, 1854, they chose a site for the mission at a point on the stream about five miles northwest of its confluence with the Rio Virgin.

The settlers [found the] soil [to be] exceptionally productive. Semi-tropical fruits such as grapes, figs, and almonds, as well as apples, peaches, plums, cherries, and pears could be grown very well there.

During the winter, [the missionaries] prepared 100 acres of land for planting [and fulfilled their] promise [of teaching] the natives how to farm in a more [advanced]

Chief Tuba and two other Hopis accompanied Jacob Hamblin and the missionaries in 1863 from Arizona to Salt Lake City to meet Brigham Young. Pictured right, they are seen having crossed the Colorado River at Ute Crossing.





Jacob Hamblin thought their thoughts and reasoned in their simple ways until he knew more than any other American ever knew of the natives. No one ever fought them with a more effective weapon.

way. The Mormons and the Indians cultivated the land conjointly and shared the produce equally.

#### Jacob Hamblin Prays for Rain

Early the following spring Jacob Hamblin asked the Indians to help construct a large dam across the Santa Clara River in order that water might be stored for irrigation purposes. The natives were reluctant to help. As little snow had fallen in the mountains that year, they insisted the stream would dry up the coming season and they would have no water to fill the reservoir. Hamblin, being a remarkable and pious man, promised them that they would have sufficient water with which to mature their crops.

Finally Chief Tut-se-gab-its and his tribe, numbering about 800, [consented to work] with the white men in constructing the dam. Hamblin tells the story:

"With much hard labor we completed our dam, and watered our crops once in the spring of 1856. The water then failed, and our growing crops began to wither. The Indians then came to me and said, 'You promised us water if we would help build a dam and plant corn. What about the promise, now the creek is dry? What will we do for something to eat next winter?'

"I went up the creek, and found it dry for twelve miles. The following morning at daylight, I went aside by myself, and prayed to the God of Abraham to forgive me if I had been unwise in promising the Indians water for their crops; and that the heavens might give rain, that we might not lose the influence we had over them.

"It was a clear, cloudless morning, but, while still on my knees, heavy drops of rain fell on my back for about three seconds. I knew it to be a sign that my prayers were answered. I told the Indians that the rain would come [and] we would have all the water we wanted.

"The next morning, a gentle rain commenced falling. The water rose to its ordinary stage in the creek, and, what was unusual, it was clear. We watered our crops all that we wished, and both whites and Indians acknowledged the event to be a special providence.

"I think more corn and squash were grown that year by us than I ever saw before or since on the same number of acres. The Indians gathered and stored up a large amount of corn, beans, and dried squash."<sup>1</sup>

Up to August, 1857, Rufus C. Allen had been president of the Southern Indian Mission. On August 4, Governor Young released Allen and appointed Hamblin to succeed him. No better choice could have been made for the direction of the mission. Hamblin

was without doubt the most influential and successful Mormon missionary to the red men in Utah's history, and one of the greatest in American history. So great was his power with the natives and so highly was he esteemed that he has aptly been named the "Apostle to the Lamanites."

He was a tall, thin, angular man, with a voice so low that to hear him one had to get very close to him and listen with great attention. This distinctly personal characteristic helped to make him unusually impressive to the [natives].

Jacob Hamblin's devotion and kindness to the Utah Indians was expressed from the time of his first contact with them to the end of his life. Even before he came on the mission to the natives of southern Utah, he and other whites were sent to Tooele County to recover some livestock which had been stolen by the Indians. Hamblin discovered the natives. The old chief came toward him and made gestures of peace. Jacob persuaded the chief and his band to go to the settlement with him, promising them protection.

When they reached the fort, the captain of the posse was determined to shoot the natives. He lined them up against the wall of the fort. Hamblin protested, but the captain still insisted. There upon Jacob threw himself in front of the Indian chief and said, "If any one is to be shot, I will be the first. I promised these Indians protection. I don't care to live, if my word is of no value." The Indians' lives were spared.

Throughout his career in dealing with the bronze-skinned natives, Hamblin always believed that if he dealt justly with them they would never harm him. He was placed in many dangerous positions, but each time he escaped unharmed or wounded only slightly. In the words of John Henry Evans:

"Although Jacob Hamblin generally carried a gun of some sort, his dependable weapon was prayer and the most absolute trust in God. . . .

"He ate with the Indians, he slept with them, he talked their language, he prayed with them for rains to save their crops, he took one of their boys to rear in his own way, he thought their thoughts and reasoned in their simple ways—till he knew more perhaps than any other American ever knew of the natives, and exerted more influence with them. And it is safe to say that no one ever fought them with a more effective weapon."<sup>2</sup>

None of the founders of Utah had the confidence of the Indians more than did Hamblin. The fine relationship

that existed between him and the natives is illustrated in the following story:

One day Hamblin was in need of some Navajo blankets, and he was willing to trade a horse for them. He sent his son, Jacob Junior, a boy of twelve, to an Indian village some twelve or fifteen miles away for the purpose of making the trade. The boy, riding one horse, led another which was to be traded.

Upon arriving at the camp of the red men, young Jacob told the chief the purpose of his visit. The Indian told the lad that he had use for the pony. Thereupon he

went into his tent and returned with an armful of blankets. The boy, desiring to make a good bargain, shook his head and said, "That is not enough blankets."

The kind old chief went into his tent and fetched out another armful of blankets. Jacob mounted his pony, and all the blankets were loaded on the back of the horse with him. Then he began his return journey.

When Jacob Hamblin saw the number of blankets which his son had brought home, he said, "You've made too good a bargain, Jake." He made two piles of the blankets, and then suggested, "Now, son you'd better take these back," pointing to one of the stacks.

Young Jacob protested. But the father explained that, whether dealing with Indians or white men, "honesty, was honesty." The boy returned to the Indian village and went directly to the tent of the old chief. As he approached he observed that the native was standing in the tent door looking in the direction of the white settlement. The old chief's face shone with a happy smile as the boy came up.

"I knew you would come back," the Indian said in broken English. "Jacob Hamblin your father; he my father, too, and the father of us all," pointing to his fellow-tribesmen. "He heap honest man!"

#### Hamblin's Narrow Escape from Navajo Indians

Jacob Hamblin's greatest influence with the Indians came through his absolute fearlessness, which was demonstrated in an event that occurred in 1875. Brigham Young sent Hamblin to Arizona to try to prevent a threatened Navajo uprising against the Mormon settlements in southern Utah.

In January Hamblin started from Kanab alone on a mission that was intended to pacify thousands of savage warriors.

He was joined by J. E. Smith and his brother at Moen Copie. About a day's journey farther eastward, the three



Major John Wesley Powell and Jacob Hamblin seated in council with Paiutes on the Kaibab Plateau near the Grand Canyon.

men arrived at the Navajo village. The Indians, who erroneously believed the Mormons had killed three members of their tribe, immediately took the white men prisoners. They then met in a lengthy council to decide the fate of the three men. The [Indians] decided to release the Smiths, who were not Mormons, but they decreed that Jacob Hamblin was to be burned at the stake there in the council room. One of the Smiths described the scene as follows:

"Had we shown a symptom of fear, we were lost; but we sat perfectly quiet, and kept a wary eye on the foe. It was a thrilling scene. The erect, proud, athletic form of the young chief as he stood pointing his finger at the kneeling figure before him; the circle of crouching forms; their dusky and painted faces animated by every passion that hatred and ferocity could inspire, and their pulse upon us; the whole partially illuminated by the fitful gleam of the firelight (for by this time it was dark), formed a picture not easy to be forgotten.

"Hamblin behaved with admirable coolness. Not a muscle in his face quivered, not a feature changed as he communicated to us, in his usual tone of voice, what we then fully believed to be the death warrant of us all.

"When the interpreter ceased, he in the same easy tone and collected manner, commenced his reply. He reminded the Indians of his long acquaintance with their tribe, of the many negotiations he had conducted between his people and theirs, and his many dealings with them in years gone by, and challenged them to prove that he had ever deceived them, ever spoken with a forked tongue."

"A Paiute chief standing in the doorway of the council tent asked Hamblin if he was not afraid.

"The fearless scout replied, 'What is there to scare me?'  
"He replied, 'The Navajos.'

"I told him I was not afraid of my friends.

"'Friends!' said he. 'You have not a friend in the Navajo nation. Navajo blood has been spilled on your land. You have caused a whole nation to mourn. . . . Are you not afraid?'

"'No,' I replied, 'my heart never knew fear.'

"The Navajos wished to know what the Paiute chief and myself were talking about. Upon being informed, their hearts were softened."

The final results were the release of Hamblin and his companions and the prevention of the threatened Indian uprising. Twenty-one days later Hamblin again met the Navajos and completed the peace between them and the people of Utah.

#### Hamblin's Journey to California

Late in the autumn of 1857, a group of Gentile merchants who had been doing business in Salt Lake City, anticipating difficulty between the Mormons and the United States Army, were returning to the Eastern States by way of California and the Isthmus of Panama. Before leaving the Mormon Mecca, they obtained a letter from Governor Young to Jacob Hamblin instructing him to direct the company and their goods safely through to the Pacific Coast.

Hamblin joined the merchants a day or two after they passed through Santa Clara. As it was nearly evening, they asked Hamblin what to do with their animals. To the surprise of the merchants, the "Apostle to the Lamanites" informed them there was good grass and suggested that

they send two Indians to take care of the animals during the night. As pay for their services, the two Indians should be given their supper first, and when they brought the animals back the following morning, each of them was to receive a shirt.

Such a suggestion sounded ridiculous to the Gentile merchants. But when Hamblin told them that if he were to direct matters he would do so in his own way, they sent the animals out to feed with two Indians as the herdsmen. Hamblin remarked:

"I presume that some of the company did not sleep much during the night. The animals, however, were all brought safely into camp in the morning. After that, the company appeared to feel quite safe, and took much pains to have things move as I directed."<sup>4</sup>

When they had traveled about sixty miles farther westward, they met a Moapa Indian who told the scout that the red men had gathered at the crossing of the Muddy River with the intentions of making an attack on the passing emigrants. Thereupon, Hamblin started at dawn the following morning, and arrived at the crossing of the Muddy nearly two hours earlier than the company. He found the Indians at that spot, as had been reported. He soon learned directly from them that they really did intend to kill all the men and collect the spoils. Hamblin tells how he saved those merchants from disaster:

"I called them [the Indians] together, and sat down and smoked a little tobacco with them, which I had brought along for that purpose. I then said: 'You have listened to my talk in times past; you believe that it is good to hear and do what I say.' They answered, 'Yes.'

"I then told them I was going through to California with some friends, Americans and merchants; and we had brought along many blankets, shirts and other useful articles. I hoped they would see that none of the animals were stolen, and if any strayed, they would bring them into camp. Some of the Indians did not readily consent to let the company pass in peace.

"For further security, I sent for their women and children to come out of their hiding place, where they had been sent for safety, as is the custom of the Indians when preparing for battle.

"I had matters in much better shape on the arrival of the company than I found them. I was careful to listen to all the talk of the Indians, and spent the evening and also the night with the largest collection of them, so they could not make any general move without my knowledge."<sup>5</sup>

After leaving Las Vegas, Hamblin and the Gentile merchants had no more trouble with the Indians while on their trip to California. Jacob Hamblin can be given credit for their arrival in safety. His great influence with the Indians saved the merchants from disaster.

### Visiting the Moqui Indians

In the autumn of 1858, Brigham Young instructed Jacob Hamblin to take a company of missionaries and visit the Moqui villages in Arizona. Hamblin selected ten of his associates and an Indian named Nahraguts to be the guide.

Leaving Santa Clara on October 28, 1858, the missionaries followed their Indian guide to the Moqui villages [where] they were hospitably received by the natives [who] readily listened to their message. Jacob Hamblin appointed four of his men to remain until early spring with them while he and the other missionaries returned to Santa Clara. Those who remained were to study the language of the Moquis and teach them the Gospel.

This missionary visit to the Moquis in 1858 was the beginning of [visits] between the Utahns and the Indians on the southeast side of the Rio Colorado and of the exploration of the country, which culminated in the establishment of many Mormon colonies in Arizona.

### Growth and Success of the Santa Clara Indian Mission

The Santa Clara missionaries did not spend all of their time trying to teach the natives the Christian religion. As has already been stated, they very successfully carried on farming cooperatively with the red men, and laid the foundation for a permanent settlement.

In June, 1859, Apostles George A. Smith and Amasa M. Lyman organized the Saints at Santa Clara into a ward, ordaining Zodoc K. Judd to be the bishop. At that time there were some twenty-five Indian missionaries there.

Thirty families of colonists arrived at Santa Clara in the fall of 1862 to help convert it into a permanent Utah community. The Santa Clara Indian Mission had proved to be a big success. The missionaries had not only taught the natives many things in regard to living as the white man lived, and had strengthened the ties between the white and red races, but Jacob Hamblin and his associates had explored the country and opened up trails over which Mormon colonists passed to open up land settlement in northern Arizona. As Spain had done earlier, so did Brigham Young send out missionary-explorers, followed by colonists. □

Excerpts from Milton R. Hunter, *Utah Indian Stories* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1960): 72-88.

1 Cited in Preston Nibley, *Pioneer Stories* (First published in 1940; Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1976), 58-59.

2 John Henry Evans, *The Heart of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1930), 452-53.

3 Cited in James H. McClintock, *Mormon settlement in Arizona: A Record of Peaceful Conquest of the Desert* (Phoenix, Ariz.: Manufacturing Stationers, 1921), 85-86.

4 Jacob Hamblin, *Deseret News*, May 20, 1858.

5 *Ibid.*

**Visuals:** Jacob Hamblin and Chief Tuba, by John Jarvis (22-23) © by Intellectual Reserve. Indian council (25), Chief Kanosh (28) © Utah State Historical Society. Ute Family, by Joe Oreland (27) © by Intellectual Reserve, courtesy Museum of Church History and Art.

# Saints or Sinners?

*The Evolving Perceptions  
of Mormon–Indian Relations  
In Utah Historiography*

By Sondra Jones

They were the “battle ax of the Lord,” and as Johnston’s Army approached Utah in 1857 Brigham Young would admonish leaders of his southern Indian missions to obtain the “love and confidence” of the Indians through “works of righteousness” because they either had to “help us, or the United States [would] kill us both.”<sup>1</sup> Most Indians in Utah Territory had early made a distinction between the two warring tribes of white men: the more friendly “Mormonees” and the often deceptive and abusive American “Mericats.”<sup>2</sup> Ultimately, these Indians would become pawns in a power struggle between Mormon leadership and American officials in the Utah Territory—with the Mormons, and Brigham Young in particular, at first the clear winners in the contest for influence with the Indians.

But there was another, much darker side to the relationship, [as] peaceful relations exploded into several bloody uprisings, two decades of intermittent hostilities, and the ultimate removal of most Indians from around central Utah settlements and away from Mormon influence. The Mormon dream of redeeming and civilizing the Indians had foundered in disease, displacement, starvation, warfare, and death.

Reflecting an emerging national interest in the Indian-as-victim, a new generation of Utah historians began to emphasize the tension and conflict that had existed alongside the proselytizing and gift-giving of the Mormons, preferring to highlight the failures of Mormon–Indian relations rather than their successes. From vilifying Indians and sanctifying Mormons, the new historians quickly began to excoriate Mormons instead.<sup>3</sup> It has taken over three decades for the pendulum of historical opinion to swing back to a more neutral stance in describing Mormon Indian relations.



By the end of the twentieth century revisionist historians had drawn a grim picture of the failure of Mormon idealism—or its blatant hypocrisy. They had found that . . . the ideal of Indian redemption had been overshadowed by the realities of a deliberate and calculated usurpation of Indian lands, creating a pattern of conquest, exploitation, and oppression that was simply a repetition of white-Indian relations elsewhere in the country.

No historian can escape the influence of their own perspectives, including this writer; however, after thirty years of being pulled through the interpretive tides of revisionist opinions about Mormon-Indian relations, I would argue that, while spattered with injustice and abuse, the pattern of Mormon-Indian relations still differed to a significant degree from Indian relations elsewhere on the American frontiers, particularly during the first two decades of the twentieth century.<sup>4</sup>

Dean May wrote in 1987 that although Mormons “shared the widespread animosity of most frontiersmen towards the Indians, . . . their disposition was tempered by [their] singular teachings and beliefs” and they made “extraordinary efforts to befriend and convert the Indians.”

Brigham Young was troubled that his settlements were displacing Indians, but because the establishment of his Mormon kingdom was his first priority, he could not abandon his rapid colonization efforts.<sup>5</sup> Neither would—or could—he compensate the Indians for the land his settlements were taking. He did, however, urge federal intervention with its treaties and annuities, encouraged vocational retraining on Indian farms or individual employment, and urged members to be generous in giving handouts to the Indians. Whether this was to “get the Indians out of his hair,” underhandedly manipulate them into not fighting, or a purely Christian altruism will forever remain in the interpretive eye of the beholder. But his policy of “assistance not resistance” did set the tone for Mormon-Indian relations and did result in a relatively milder response to the inevitable Indian-white conflict.<sup>6</sup>

When Brigham Young brought the persecuted and harried Saints to Utah it was with the grim determination not to be moved again, and he admitted that he had been “prepared to meet all the Indians in these mountains, and kill every soul of them if we had been obliged so to do”;<sup>7</sup> but most evidence suggests that killing Indians was not his first option, even during the violence of 1849–1851. Religious fervor aside, Brigham Young’s Indian policy was a pragmatic one—it really did cost more in money, lives,



**K**anosh, chief of the  
Pahvant Utes,  
said Brigham Young did  
not talk two ways and  
deceive them as Washington  
officials did.

and labor lost to fight an Indian war; far better to placate, conciliate, and make friends with Indians than to fight them. Peace was essential to Young’s grandiose plans for colonization. To claim the territory, he planned to fling small settlements to distant parts where they would be highly vulnerable to attack and would be linked by long stretches of equally vulnerable roads. When fragile relations between settlers and Indians broke down, colonizing and other projects had to be abandoned or delayed. And converting Indians to Mormonism and farming was obviously more difficult when they were killing each other.

But hostilities were the exception. There is ample evidence to show that despite the intermittent (and occasionally bloody) conflict, an extraordinarily benign, symbiotic relationship *did* exist during the first

years of Mormon-Indian contact, and as Peterson notes, the Utah Indian wars were generally fought between friends and acquaintances.<sup>8</sup> Indians were freely proselyted, hundreds of Paiute and Gosiute children were adopted into Mormon homes, and there was some intermarriage. Indians camped near major settlements, usually moved freely within and around them, were well known and often friends; they traded fish or game for food, exchanged captive children for arms and livestock, ate at Mormon tables, and occasionally worked for farmers or simply begged (or demanded) handouts—which they usually received.

In spite of occasional fallings out, most negotiating chiefs listened to Brigham Young as the “good father of the Indians” whose word they trusted, who did not “get mad when he hears of his brothers and friends being killed, as the California [militia] Captains do.” Kanosh said Brigham Young did not talk two ways and deceive them as Washington officials did.<sup>9</sup> Wákara called Brigham Young “a very good man” whom he “loved,” while chiefs at the Spanish Fork peace council refused to sign their treaty until Brigham Young approved it.<sup>10</sup> Even Black Hawk turned to Young as a source of *puwá-vu* medicine power in his final years, and the tattered remnants of Sagwitch’s Shoshone eventually placed themselves in the hands of the church in order to survive.<sup>11</sup>

But Mormon settlers and Utah Indians were star-crossed neighbors. Simply by moving into and establishing resource-intensive settlements on Indian land Mormons cast themselves into the role of villain. Regardless of well-meaning intentions or moral imperatives to convert, befriend, and “rehabilitate” Indians, as Mormons contin-

ued to pursue their aggressive colonization efforts into every productive corner, resources disappeared and destitute Indians had to turn to (or against) Mormon settlers to survive.<sup>12</sup> . . . While many Indian men viewed farming as women's work, Mormons viewed [these Indians] as indolent. And as Mormons prospered, Indians died. With mounting tensions, the disintegration of relations was inevitable.<sup>13</sup>

Yet, few of Utah's Indians actually went to *war*, for these Great Basin natives were not a war-oriented people.<sup>14</sup> Warfare was "practically non-existent" among the Gosiute, Paiute, and Western Shoshone until revenge for abuse and starvation impelled them to "steal or starve."<sup>15</sup> The Northwestern Shoshone became more aggressive only after they grew destitute or responded to abuse from emigrants; and despite the existence of several prominent commercial raiding bands, the majority of the Western Ute avoided conflict.<sup>16</sup> Less than a hundred Timpanogos Utes were involved in the brief Provo rebellion of 1850, relatively few kinsmen of Arapeen and Wyonah perpetuated the "Walker" War, and at its height fewer than several hundred Indians—and not all of them Ute—were ever involved in the Black Hawk War at any one time. Though ill feelings and killings on both sides eventually drove non-combatant Ute into the hills or onto the new (and unprepared) reservation, and many undoubtedly rooted for the raider and may have benefited from his plunder, only a minority of them actually joined Black Hawk's opportunistic raiders and cattle-rustlers.<sup>17</sup>

Benevolence could stretch only so far, and as Madsen noted, demands for food by hungry Indians "rapidly exceeded the willingness and resources" of the Mormon settlers to provide. As stock also continued to disappear, patience grew thin.<sup>18</sup>

And Brigham Young's policy of defense and conciliation was a difficult one to follow. Rank and file members resented the time and effort it took to build defensive forts or consolidate herds.

But many church members did not revert to rebellion or savagery, even in the midst of the war. Many southern Utah Saints dutifully tore down their settlements and consolidated at Parowan and Cedar City during the Walker War, while hundreds of their cattle were driven to an uncertain fate in Salt Lake City. Many were like Benjamin Johnson of Santaquin, or Dudley Leavitt and Jacob Hamblin, who were willing to defend Indian friends—or prisoners—to the death. Hamilton Kearns's unfailing friendship with the Indians bought his son respectful treatment from Black Hawk's raiders, Thomas Callister remained an unflagging defender of the Pahvant, and some had their cattle passed over or returned as a sign of friendship. Even in the midst of rising hostilities some friendships endured,

or like the Cache Valley Mormons, still supplied food to Indian bands (Col. Connor destroyed stores of Mormon-gifted grain following the Bear River massacre).<sup>19</sup> And as their initial anger with Mormons faded, it was to the Mormons the Northwestern Shoshone turned for help.

While much Mormon charity was purely defensive (feed rather than fight), not all was. Cache Valley bishops continued to feed the decimated Northwestern Shoshone long after they ceased to be a threat, and travelers in the 1870s still described Pahvants and Paiutes entertained at kitchen tables or given supplies from bishops' storehouses. Mormon missionaries and advocates, continued to proselyte and work with Gosiute, Shoshone, and Ute farmers.<sup>20</sup>

A harried Brigham Young explored a variety of solutions to Mormon-Indian conflict. But despite mistakes, his overriding policy remained that of seeking peaceful solutions and proposing amnesty for combatants on both sides.<sup>21</sup> So, while some Indians were arrested and summarily executed *during* hostilities, in the wake of a negotiated peace, no chiefs were ever imprisoned or executed for their "war crimes" as leaders of Indian uprisings elsewhere frequently were.<sup>22</sup> Mormons even earned the ire of the nation when they went out of their way to *protect* the Pahvant perpetrators of the Gunnison massacre.<sup>23</sup>

There were wars, hostilities did flare, and the bitterness of dispossession—violent or otherwise—remained. However, Mormon-Indian relations *had*, and in some cases continued, to differ from the frontier norm. We cannot completely dismiss as delusion and myth the perceptions of so many contemporary spokesmen from history—Mormon, Gentile, and Indian—that the Mormons *were* different from most Americans and that for the most part their relations with the Indians *were* noticeably different from their gentile contemporaries. And even if the difference was only in a matter of degree, that degree was significant and preserved most of Utah's Indians from the wanton wars of extermination and deliberate political dispossession that shredded Indian peoples elsewhere.<sup>24</sup>

Sinners mingled with saints in frontier Mormon settlements. And while the past four decades of revisionist history has added invaluable detail and insight into our understanding of Utah history, and despite learning of the "appalling blood-lettings" and occasional fury of which the all-too-human Latter-day Saints were capable, the overall pattern of early Mormon-Indian relations still remains one in which Indians sized up a stranger by asking, "Is this man a Mormon, or an American?" and drew strong lines of demarcation between the two in favor of the Mormons.<sup>25</sup> □

*Excerpts from Sondra Jones, "Saints or Sinners? The Evolving Perceptions of Mormon-Indian Relations In Utah Historiography," Utah Historical Quarterly, vol. 72, no. 1 (Winter 2004): 19-46.*

## Notes

1 Thomas D. Brown, May 19, 1854, in Juanita Brooks, ed., *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission* (Logan: Utah State Univ. Press, 1972), 25; and Brigham Young to Jacob Hamblin, Aug. 4, 1857, letter book no. 3, 737–38, LDS Church Archives.

2 Not all Mormons were benevolent, and not all Gentiles were abusive, but in general a significant enough difference existed that Indians drew a sharp distinction between the two. Madsen, among others, details non-Mormon abuses against Shoshone ("Calloused frontiersmen with little regard for Indians" and "ruthless, brutal, and indiscriminate killing") versus friendlier Mormons who had to placate Indians for survival. See Brigham D. Madsen, *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1985), 25–28, *passim*.

3 Ronald Walker complained that this only created a new set of stereotyped heroes and villains, "Toward a Reconstruction of Mormon and Indian Relations, 1847–1877," *BYU Studies* 29 (Fall 1989): 27.

4 My historical genesis occurred during the revisionist era of the 1970s; as a descendant of Mormon pioneers but the wife of a Native American who has never cared to celebrate "pioneer day," it has been an interesting intellectual development.

5 See for example, Floyd A. O'Neil and Stanford Layton, "Of Pride and Politics: Brigham Young as Indian Superintendent," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Summer 1978): 237, 242–43; also John H. Peterson, *Utah's Black Hawk War* (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Press, 1998), 390, and Madsen, 49–50, 85.

6 Robert McPherson, "Setting the Stage: Native America Revisited," in Forrest Cuch, ed., *A History of Utah's American Indians* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs and Utah State Division of History, 2000), 20.

7 Brigham Young, *Journal of Discourses*, 1:105.

8 Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 6–7.

9 Tabby, through interpreter George W. Bean to Brigham Young, May 19, 1865, Brigham Young Collection, and "Proceedings of a Council with the Utah Indians" (at Spanish Fork farm, June 1865, as cited in Peterson, *Black*

*Hawk War*, 148 nn. 44, 151 (Tabby) and 80 (Kanosh).

10 Samuel N. Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West with Colonel Fremont's Last Expedition* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1860), 193.

11 Peterson, *Black Hawk War*, 352–56; Scott R. Christensen, *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822–1884* (M.A. Thesis, Utah State Univ., 1995); Parry, "Northwestern Shoshone," in Cuch, 44–58.

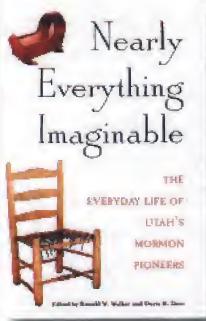
12 Historians like McPherson, Madsen, and Holt all emphasize the previously underestimated devastation wrought on traditional food-gathering cycles when Mormon settlers and non-Mormon emigrants appropriated or destroyed resources. See Madsen, *Shoshoni Frontier*; Ronald L. Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethnohistory of the Utah Paiutes* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico, 1992); cf. "Beneath These Red Cliffs: The Utah Paiutes and Paternalistic Dependency" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Utah, 1987), and Robert McPherson, "Paiute Posey and the Last White Uprising," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 53 (Summer 1985): 249–51, 264; "Indians, Anglos and Ungulates: Resource Competition on the San Juan," in *The Northern Navajo Frontier 1860–1900* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1988); and *A History of San Juan County: In the Palm of Time* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1995), 145–51.

13 Small-scale agriculture was practiced by some Utah groups before Mormon/Federal intervention, but mounted Utes seemed to be particularly disdainful of it. In 1873 White River Utes laughed at farming Uintahs, called them women, and claimed the work was the responsibility of the white agency employees. See J. J. Critchlow to Commissioner F. A. Walker, Sept. 1, 1872, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1872 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), 292.

14 The "war ethic" was not developed among the Ute or other Basin Indians, although raiding-for-profit increased with the introduction of traders and European goods. See Marvin K. Opler, "The Southern Ute of Colorado," in *Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes*, Ralph Linton, ed. (New York: Harper & Son, 1940), 123, 162–63.

15 Madsen, *passim*; Virginia C. Trenholm and Maurine Carley, *The Shoshonis, Sentinels of the Rockies* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 4.

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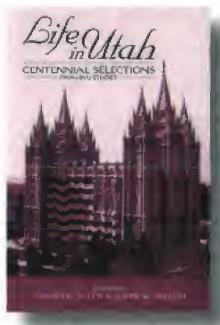


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16 Madsen, 30–34, 47–49, 80, 91, 93; Trenholm and Carley, 29. The leaders of the early Ute raiding bands—Elk, Wakara, Arapéen, Ammon, Sanpitch—were all related, and Peterson in Black Hawk War, 7–8 and chapt. 2, argues that Black Hawk and his lieutenants also had close kinship ties with this same family. Others like Sowiette, Sowoksohet, Kanosh, and Tabby avoided conflict and counseled peace.

17 For example, Peterson in Black Hawk War, or his “Mormons, Indians, and Gentiles and Utah’s Black Hawk War,” suggests the majority of raiders were Sheberech Ute from the unsettled Manti/La Sal region, supplemented by Navajo (up to 50 percent of the raiders in 1866) and some adventurer Eastern Ute. When raiding became more dangerous than the horses or cattle were worth, his Eastern Ute and Navajo recruits abandoned the enterprise.

18 For example, Madsen, 128, 152–53; Christensen, 58.

19 For example, Howard A. Christy, “The Walker War: Defense and Conciliation as Strategy,” Utah Historical Quarterly, 47 (Fall 1979): 395–420; also Peterson, Black Hawk War, 137–39, 172–73, 294–95; Jacob Hamblin Journal, July 15 and Aug. 9, 1856; also, James A. Little, Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience As a Frontiersman, Missionary to the Indians and Explorer, 2d. ed. (1881; Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909); Juanita Brooks, On the Ragged Edge: The Life and Times of Dudley Leavitt (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1978). Also, McPherson, Staff Ride Handbook for the Battle of Bear River, 29 January 1863 (Riverton: Utah National Guard, 2000), 51; Christensen, Sagwitch; Orson F. Whitney, History of Utah, vol. 2 (Salt Lake City: George Q. Cannon and Sons, 1892), 423–26; and Christy, “Walker War,” 412.

20 For example, Elizabeth W. Kane, Twelve Mormon Homes: Visited in Succession on a Journey through Utah to Arizona (Salt Lake City: Univ. of Utah Library, 1974), 65, 93; Holt, *passim*; Dennis Defa, “The Gostute Indians of Utah,” in Cuch, 107–13; Christensen, 66; Koosharem and Thistle Ute in O’Neil, “History of the Ute Indians,” 115–19; Peter Gottfredson, Indian Depredations in Utah (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing, 1969), 338–43. Holt of course describes ongoing, if cursory, gift-giving in the twentieth century.

21 Peterson, Black Hawk War, 380–83, noted that Young’s “own Indian rela-

tions were extraordinary” as he “repeatedly sought peaceful solutions” and held out “undeviating offer[s] to ‘square off’ and end the fighting, and though he did issue an extermination order in 1850, he was also quick to rescind it. See also Wells to Conover, March 21, 1850, in Coates, “Brigham Young and Mormon Indian Policy,” 247–48; Howard A. Christy, “Open Hand and Mailed Fist: Mormon–Indian Relations in Utah, 1847–1852,” Utah Historical Quarterly 46 (Summer 1978): 231–33.

22 For example, Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The American Indian: Prehistory to the Present* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1980), 193–95, 417–18, 420–22 notes the fate of King Phillip, Osceola, Modoc chiefs, the Nez Perce and Chiricahua Apache, and Kiowa chiefs Satanta and Big Tree; also see Mari Sandoz, *Crazy Horse: The Strange man of the Oglalas* (1942; rpt. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1992), 404–13; Robert Emmitt, *The Last War Trail: The Utes and the Settlement of Colorado* (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 283–86.

23 For example, see Ronald W. Walker, “President Young Writes Jefferson Davis about the Gunnison Massacre Affair,” BYU Studies 35.1 (1995): 117–49.

24 Examples abound, e.g., one Colorado governor deliberately incited the Plains Indians in order to provoke wars that would lead to Indian removal, see Robert M. Utley, *Frontiersmen in Blue* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1981), 284–97, esp. 284, and another gained office with a “Ute Must Go” campaign, see Emmitt, 21–23, 86–87, 116–20, 232–38; Joseph G. Jorgensen, *The Sun Dance Religion: Power for the Powerless* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1972), 44–49. Similar provocative situations existed in California and the Pacific Northwest during the Rogue River and Yakima wars, in Arizona against the Apache, or in the Sioux’s Black Hills. While displaced Utah Ute suffered, they did not experience the Cherokee’s “Trail of Tears,” the Navajo’s “Long Walk,” the Nez Percés flight, the Apache exile in Florida, the cold-blooded extermination of the Pequots, Pamunkey, or Yamasee, or the expulsion of Uncompahgre from Colorado at bayonet point.

25 References here to Madsen, 155, 64; Albert R. Lyman, *Indians and Outlaws: Settling of the San Juan Frontier* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1962), 100; and McPherson, *The Northern Navajo Frontier 1860–1900: Expansion through Adversity* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1988), 31, 33, and esp. 35.

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**CORRECTION:** In our past issue of *Pioneer Magazine*, Vol. 51, No. 4, the photo on page 26 was incorrectly labeled. Please note the correct identifications:



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# Reclaiming Lamanites Today

## *The LDS Church Efforts to Educate American Indians*

by Grant E. Barton Ph.D.  
Sons of Utah Pioneers President Elect



Helen John Hall, first Indian Placement Student, with her husband and four daughters.

LDS Church members can well identify with persecutions endured by Indians. For example, after enduring expulsion from Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois, with a loss of six thousand on the trek, Saints can feel the pangs of sorrow of the Cherokee, who lost four thousand on their "trail of tears" from the Carolinas, Georgia, and Tennessee also en-route to a barren wilderness.<sup>1</sup> The Church has attempted to help Lamanites, especially in the education of their young. One noteworthy example was the Church's Indian Student Placement Program.

### LDS Efforts to Educate Lamanites

It all started with Helen Rose John, a 16-year-old Navajo girl, who in 1947, along with her family, were in Richfield, Utah, hiring out to help sugar beet farmers. Helen asked the Averys, owners of the farm where they were working, if she could stay in Utah after the harvest and go to school, "even if she had to stay in a tent." Spencer W. Kimball, chairman of the Church's Indian Relations Committee, heard of the request and helped Helen get placed into an LDS foster home.

Others similarly requested to stay with LDS families. When the number had grown to 68 by 1954, the Church founded the Indian Student Placement Services (ISPS). At its peak in 1970, the program was placing 5,000 students a year from seven states and Canada.<sup>2</sup>

After 25 years, however, schools were becoming more available on the reservations, and the State of Utah started charging thousands of dollars per student brought into Utah foster homes. There were also questions whether students could adjust to two cultures. Due to these and other factors, participation dropped precipitously and in 1996 the program was discontinued.

### Results of the Indian Student Placement Program

There were 50,000 Indian students served by ISPS over almost 50 years. In a 1981 comprehensive study commissioned by the Presiding Bishopric,<sup>3</sup> educational, social, and employment indicators of hundreds of placement students were compared with those who didn't participate in the program, with very favorable results:

Indicator:	ISPS Students	Non-Participants
Professional/Managerial Jobs	29%	5%
Currently Employed	46%	33%
Graduated from High School	82%	45%
Grade-point average	2.5	2.0
Attended at least 1 year of college	52%	21%
Have close friends**	54%	26%
Report they are "very happy"**	34%	6%

\* 25–34 year olds    \*\*18–24 year olds

One of the most positive outcomes of the program, according to Clarence Bishop, former ISPS Director, is that probably "200,000 members of the Church lived with and learned to love Native American children, their families, and their culture."<sup>4</sup> Strong life-long bonds emerged between students and foster parents.

According to Harvey Gardner, former stake president and Area Authority Seventy in the Page Arizona area, hundreds of Lamanite youth have served missions, stakes have been created with large numbers of Lamanite members, hundreds of Lamanite leaders have emerged, chapels are beginning to dot the reservations, LDS Social Services programs are available, and Seminary and Institute classes are provided in most Church buildings.<sup>5</sup> But perhaps the greatest accomplishment, says Elder Gardner, is the righteous generation of Lamanites who rose up as a result of the loving kindness of the "nursing fathers and nursing mothers," who carried "Lamanites on their shoulders" in fulfillment of Book of Mormon prophecy.<sup>6</sup> ▀

### Notes

1 "The Redemption of the Lamanites," Chapter 22, in Spencer W. Kimball, The Teachings of Spencer W. Kimball, ed. Edward L. Kimball (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1982, 2002), 617.

2 The Blossoming: Dramatic Accounts of the Lives of Native Americans in the Foster Care Program of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, ed. Dale L. and Margene Shumway (Orem, UT: Granite, 2002), 5.

3 "Evaluation of an Indian Student Placement Program," Bruce A. Chadwick, Stan L. Albrecht, and Howard M. Bahr, Social casework, Nov. 1986, v. 67, n. 9, 515–24.

4 Shumway and Shumway, 6.

5 Telephone interviews with Elder Harvey Gardner, Mar. 13 and 16, 2005.

6 1 Nephi 21: 22–23.

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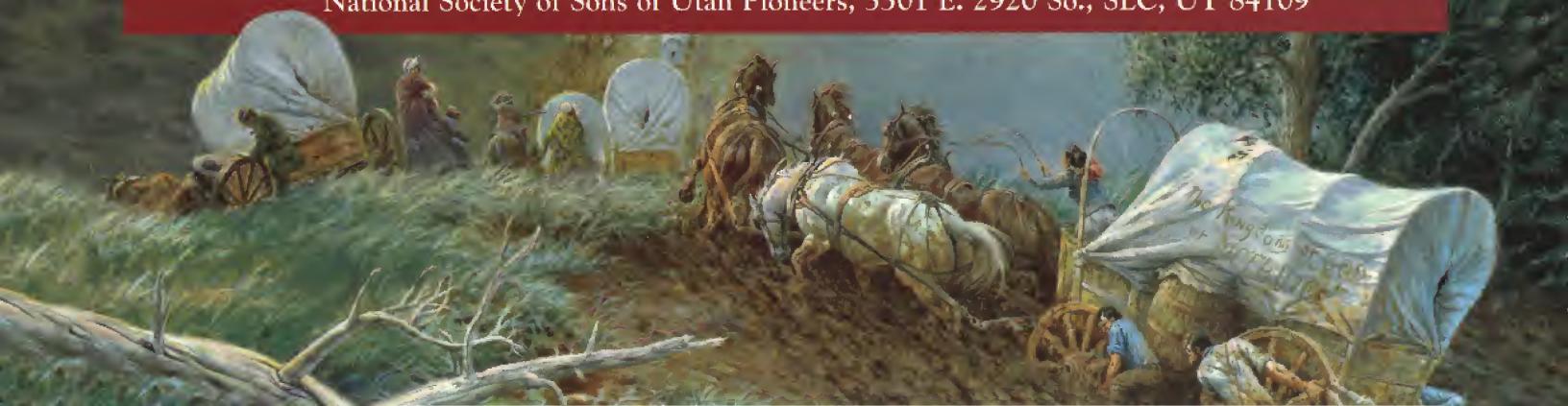
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